

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

BY

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Late Archaeological Commissioner

WITH FORTY-ONE PLATES

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The intention was to publish one part of this journal each year, provided that sufficient material was at hand. The prolonged illness of the writer has, however, delayed the publication of the present part. This summary, therefore, gives the various points that have come to the notice of the Archaeological Department up to October, 1928, and takes little notice of later discoveries. These are reserved for a later number. I take the opportunity to explain once more that this summary does not include the *intensive* work of the Department, such as systematic excavations or detailed studies of buildings. These are reserved for monographs of which two have already appeared, namely, volumes I and II of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey*. Glimpses of this intensive work may occasionally be seen in these pages in so far as it fills a gap in the argument, but as a rule this summary is devoted chiefly to observations made on monuments examined in the course of explorations, or to particulars either not previously published, or, if published, not readily accessible, of monuments excavated in the past.

It might be asked why the information cannot be accumulated till it is ready to form a systematic treatise on Ceylon Archaeology. The answer is that such a policy has proved disastrous in the past. In a climate which saps the energies and sometimes proves fatal to defer is often to lose. It was the merest accident that rescued my predecessor's treatise after his untimely death, and all the miscellaneous information he collected is lost for ever. It was to prevent the recurrence of such a misfortune that it was decided to put information on record as it came in, even if it had to be modified by subsequent discoveries. Thus at least accident will not mean, as it has done in the past, beginning all over again.



Another purpose of these summaries was to lay before the public of Ceylon the problems that presented themselves to the archaeologist, in the hope that those who take an interest in the antiquities of Ceylon would join in the hunt for solutions. I must confess that in this object the summaries have been a failure. Problems make no appeal. The solitary archaeologist may go on asking why, and the echo answers why.

BRICKWORK, MORTAR

Lime was doubtless used in Ceylon for plaster from the time of the Sinhalese conquest, if not earlier; for plaster, or at least whitewash, seems to have been an indispensable finish for funeral tumuli from pre-Indian times, perhaps even earlier; but the earliest mention I know is in the *Māhavaṃsa*, chapter 32, verse i: it is there used as a coating for a tope in the first part of the first century B.C. The custom of giving to a tumulus a white coating seems to go back to a very remote antiquity, since it is common to the Greeks and the Indians.⁽¹⁾

The use of lime as mortar, however, seems to have been known in Ceylon before the fourth century A.D., since not a single case is known to us of archaic bricks laid in lime mortar, and big archaic brick extends down to the time of Mahasen who reigned about 325 A.D.

Lime mortar was in use at the latest in the tenth century. Therefore it must have been introduced between the fourth and the tenth.

INSCRIBED STONES

The following additions have been made to our list of inscribed stones useful for our chronology:—

XX. Octagonal pillar south of Saṇdagiri Vehera, Tissamahārāma (^P₁₃ 15-16). *A. S. I.* 398 ff. 1st century A.D. Identified by the Government Mineralogist as acid leptunite, a kind of gneiss.

XXI. Guardstone, imperfect lotus petal type, at Kaludiya Pokuna near Sigiriya. *A. S. I.* No. 341. About the 7th century. Gneiss.

XXII. Ovolo stone forming the coping stone of the south side of the square platform of the tope at Rūṇumahavihāra, now known as Maṅgulmahavihāre, near Pottuvil. *A. S. I.* 455. 9th century A.D. Gneiss.

XXIII. Dado of the same platform, north side. *A. S. I.* 456. 9th century A.D. Gneiss.

XXIV. Dado, north side of the square altar (*āsana*) in building "A" excavated in 1929 at Geḍigē, Anurādhapura, *A. S. I.* 543. 8th

(1) See my *Kingship*, p. 173.

or early 9th century A. D. Gneiss. It reads "north side" and so must be a mason's mark, and therefore contemporary with the building.

STONework

No. XX in the above list proves definitely that very smooth surfaces could be achieved in gneiss as early as the first century A.D. The pillar has a polish such as I know nowhere in Ceylon except some pillars of the Thūpārāma or Trident Temple (see below) at Anurādhapura, and the door jambs at the Rāmsimāligāva at Polonnaruwa. The Trident Temple and its chisel marked pillars date from about the ninth or tenth century, presumably also the polished pillars. Rāmsimāligāva is an archaic tope restored at a later period, but I have no doubt the door jambs belong to the restorations. The stone of the Saṇḍagiri pillar is not as hard as the other two, probably, as the Government Mineralogist suggests because it came from a surface layer. I have described it as octagonal because I think it was intended to be so ; but as a matter of fact there are six narrow faces and one wide one, as if the angles had been miscalculated.

The workmanship of XXI is much inferior to that of the perfect lotus petal guardstones that have been illustrated : there is no trace of chiselling and the arrises are not sharp (Pl. XXXVIIA). It must be remembered that in the photograph the stone is distorted.

Nos. XXII and XXIII show the usual chiselling which we associate with the centuries round about the ninth (Vol. I, pl. XXXVIII). The guardstones of this tope belong to the lotus petal type. The same type of mouldings is dated again by No. XXIV (Pl. XXXVIII).

Beside the pillar at Saṇḍagiri stands a small guardstone with rounded top and a shoulder on the left side. The face is carved in half round with a flower vase. The position suggests, though it does not prove, that it is of somewhat the same age as the inscribed pillar. The material, which I take to be limestone, points to the archaic period, for I so far know of no guardstones made of limestone except in the archaic and the archaistic periods. The same type in limestone has already been figured on plate XII of this volume : the railing underneath stamps it as archaic. Plate X reproduced the upper part of an archaic guardstone cut from limestone ; the lower part, which is missing, had three tenons fitting into three sockets in the upper half. The top of this guardstone is definitely rounded. There can be no doubt then that the rounded top and the shoulder or pilaster on one side so characteristic of the *nāga* guardstones of the tenth century and later was already in existence in the archaic period. We have at Rūṇumahavihāra (Pls. XXXVIIIB, XXXIX.) definite proof that this type existed before the sixth century, that is before the earliest lotus petal guardstone we know of. It is

obvious that the guardstone on plate XL with its rounded top and its pilaster surmounted by an elephant facing east, is much earlier than the Polonnaruva period. It is so weathered that one might hesitate about the date, but fortunately we have a much better specimen of the same art at the south entrance of building A (Pl. XLI). There can be no doubt that the right hand guardstone is Gupta, in fact rather early Gupta, fourth century, at the latest fifth. Now we know definitely that the guardstone with dwarf guardian, rounded top, pilaster surmounted by one of the animals of the four quarters (Vol. II, p. 13), already existed at that early time, and must have been displaced by the lotus petal, since no example is known to occur again till the tenth century, or thereabouts. The guardstone outside the north entrance to the temple enclosure (Pl. XLII) proves that the cobra king type also existed before the lotus petal. An example in limestone had already been given on plate X of this volume.

The balustrade of building A at Rūṇumahavihāra tells a similar tale but not quite so definitely, the S curve ending in a spiral can now be traced back to the fourth or fifth century. Later at Arankālē, Veherabāṇḍigala, and similar sites the rectilinear balustrade predominates (Vol. I, p. 7), to disappear again. The S-shaped balustrade never seems however to have suffered complete eclipse. For at Vessagiriya there is a pair occurring in combination with the moonstone which bears inscription 413, No. IX of the list given in our last summary. There is no reason to doubt that the balustrade and the moonstone belong together, and the workmanship is the same. We can thus safely date them sixth century by means of the inscription. On the opposite side of the same building there is another pair in the same style. It is reproduced in plate XLVIIa. They differ from the usual tenth to twelfth century in being very low in proportion to the height. Now a balustrade of similar outlines occurs in front of monastery No. XX at Ajanta, which our authorities ascribe to the sixth century.⁽¹⁾ Though the outlines are the same the contrast in ornamentation is striking. There is none in the Sinhalese balustrade, whereas the Ajanta one is florid and represents a *makara* which the Sinhalese do not seem to have attempted till later.

It is clear now that the reservation which had been noted as a characteristic of the Polonnaruva period began before the removal to Polonnaruva. This had already been indicated by the frontispiece of Mirisavāti Tope which was discussed on page 6 of this volume.

(1) Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculpture of India*, Part II, pl. 202—F; de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. XXXVI.

Previously to the discovery of Rūṇumahavihāra the only specimens of Gupta art known in Ceylon were two or three slabs at Isurumuniya, the best of which appeared in this journal, volume I, pl. XLVIII. Our collection is still very meagre, but it is worth noting that all these specimens are cut in gneiss. In building C is a large *platform* with retaining wall of gneiss (Pls. XLIV and XLVI), a type with which we have become familiar in this journal and in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey. The lions and capitals as compared with those on plate XL, and the workmanship assign this building to the same period as the guardstones. The mouldings are similar to those of the eighth or ninth century on, yet differ from them as will be seen on reference to plate XLIV, where they are contrasted with mouldings dated ninth century by means of inscriptions XXII and XXIII. Thus the base of the older example is still an ovolo, as in the archaic buildings, and has not yet become a cyma. It is also much larger in proportion, being about one-third of the total height. Thus this Gupta work continues in some respects the archaic period, in others anticipates later work. These facts and the further fact that Sigiriya in the sixth century is all brick and limestone with the exception of the thrones which we can now be certain are of later date, we must slightly revise the chronology of our last summary. Instead of beginning the gneiss age after Mahasen, we should, I think, treat the period from his reign to the fall of Sigiriya as a transition period, and look upon the gneiss carvings of Isurumuniya and Rūṇumahavihāra as advanced guards.

It is a remarkable fact that while in India the Gupta age was one of great artistic activity, in Ceylon it has left few specimens. No doubt there are more, but if they were in the least common many more would have occurred out of the hundreds of ruins examined. It is also remarkable that it has not in Ceylon had the same development as in India. The florid Gupta style of the sixth century is so far entirely missing. The sixth century balustrade described above is significant. Evidence thus keeps accumulating to show that skill in the working of gneiss is followed by crudeness in all cases where we have certain dates. After building C at Rūṇumahavihāra there occur moonstones such as those on plate XX of this volume. After plate XLVIII of volume I we have nothing till we come to the Pallava style (Vol. I, p. 96). The Pallava art at Isurumuniya stands very high, but most of the Pallava or kindred work in Ceylon shows a technique much inferior to that of the Gupta art. It is obviously the work of men not yet perfect in their art. Specimens have appeared on plates XXXIII to XXXV of this volume. The only photograph of Kuṣṭarajāgala then available was given. It has since been re-photographed as will be seen on plates XLVIII and XLIX. The style of an unfinished figure in a cave at Āṇḍiyāgala ($\frac{F}{13}$ 30) thirty miles

south-west of Anurādhapura can only be identified by the high Pallava crown as the figure is only blocked out (Plate XLVIIb). It represents a man in the same attitude as the man and horse at Isurumuniya (Vol. I, pl. XLIXa). With some diffidence I would ascribe it to the same period as the square slab shown on plate L. It is preserved in the monastery of Girihaṇḍuvihāra which is opposite the resthouse at Ambalantōṭa ($\frac{P}{17}$ 20) in the Southern Province. The material is a limestone similar to the Amarāvati stone (Vol. I, p. 95). All these are characterized by a certain flatness as if the sculptor were thinking in terms of drawing. This applies not only to reliefs, but also to the only example in the round I know of (Pl. LI), one that now stands in front of the temple at Kurukkaḷmaḍam (Manmunai I; $\frac{K}{6}$ 59). It was originally found in an extensive site on the north side of the temple. Unfortunately we only have a front view in which the flatness is not apparent. The sculptor has not dared to detach completely the arms from the body, or the hands from the arms.

We must at present leave it for more expert judgments to decide whether these works are inferior to the best Pallava, because they are earlier or merely because the artists were inferior. We have as yet nothing to date them by, but anyhow one thing is certain, namely, that they are later than the Gupta specimens, yet are not a direct continuation of that style, but show a distinct retrogression with new tendencies. Thus they confirm our previous conclusions.

The use of the term classical in our last summary as an alternative to gneiss age is thus not quite appropriate since it is only the latter part of the gneiss age, that is about the eighth to tenth centuries that can be considered classical. The centuries between the Gupta and the classical being, to all appearances, a time of recovery from a fall.

In the light of further evidence we may therefore revise as follows the scheme suggested in our last summary :—

Pre-Buddhistic Sinhalese : 5th century B.C. to circ. 250 B.C. No remains identified.

Early Buddhist : circ. 250 B.C. to circ. 100 B.C. No remains identified (Vol. I, p. 95).

Brick and limestone : Archaic art, circ. 100 B.C. to circ. 325 A.D.

Gupta art, circ. 325 B.C. to the fall of S'giriya, circ. 544 B.C.

Gneiss : Early gneiss or Pallava : 6th and 7th centuries.

Classical : 8th to 10th or 11th centuries.

Archaistic : Polonnaruva : 11th to early 13th.

The revivalist movement probably continued after the capital was removed from Polonnaruva.

The names of kings confirm the conclusions drawn from archaeological remains. From 250 B.C. to 325 A.D. approximately names com-

pounded of Tissa, Nāga, Gāmaṇī, Abhaya predominate. There is nothing particularly Buddhistic about them. Gāmaṇī, Mr. Paranavitana suggests, is a third caste name. Nāga seems to be inherited from a previous dynasty of cobra-kings. Just before Mahasen two Buddhist names appear; one of the two half religious, half ancestral, Saṅghatissa, that is "Church Tissa"; the other wholly Buddhist, Saṅghabodhi, "Enlightenment of the Church." These devotional names increase in frequency, names of disciples and apostles such as Kassapa, Moggallāna, Mahinda, or such names as Buddhādāsa, "Servant of Buddha," Aggabodhi, "Supreme Enlightenment," and so forth. After Kassapa I it also becomes the custom for kings to assume the name of a predecessor: thus there are five Kassapas, 9 Aggabodhis, 5 Mahindas in this period. In the eleventh century the fashion changes again in favour of names expressing victory, such as Vijaya, Vikrama, Parākrama. The transition is more sudden than in the first case, but not quite sudden, for a sixth Mahinda occurs after Parākrama Bāhu the Great.

The *Rājāvaliya's* division into Great and Little Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 162) is thus again corroborated; only of course, there is no sudden break such as that chronicle imagines. It is a natural tendency of the human mind to make sharp divisions, and we require Gibbons and Freemans to remind us that history makes no jumps.

The change in the style of name at the end of the archaic period suggests that kings ceased to be merely distinguished lay members of the church, in order to become an integral part of it, as if royalty and Buddhism became connected no longer by accident, but theologically. This agrees with the known fact that the king and the Tooth-relic which came in at this time are intimately associated. The worship of the Tooth is a royal cult, and the Tooth is the palladium of kings. We know that kings came at some time or other to be regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva (Vol. II, p. 59): it is most likely during the gneiss age that the doctrine came in along with the intensive cult of Bodhisattvas. Finally it is after the archaic period that the square temple comes into vogue at the expense of the tope which it influences (Vol. I, p. 143; II, p. 10). Now the square temple and the king's palace are both called *māligāva*, and in frescoes the pavilion in which the king sits is exactly like a square temple. We know that the ritual of the Tooth is copied from that of the king.⁽¹⁾ It is true that the tope also was originally a royal tomb, but it is the shrine of a dead king, whereas the *māligāva* is the temple of a living king.⁽²⁾ The coming of the gneiss age thus seems to introduce a new phase in the doctrine of divine kingship.

(1) Statements made by priests of the temple, and confirmed by D'Oyly's Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom (Colombo Government Printer) pp. 132 ff.

(2) This journal, Vol. I, p. 101 and II, p. 31 and my *Kingship*, p. 10.

The fall of Sigiriya now no longer appears to us as the final act in the quarrel of two brothers (*Mhvs.*, chapter 38 f.), but as an important stage in the struggle between the old Sinhalese culture, and a new one which, so far, seems to be South Indian as well as Mahāyānist. It is significant that the archaic period begins with the conquest of the north of the Island, then under the Tamil domination, by the Sinhalese south (*Mhvs.*, chapter 22 ff.), and that one important catastrophe in its decline is brought about by the return of one of two enemy brothers with an army from South India on the advice of Nirgranthas (*Mhvs.* XXXIX, 20). The gneiss age in its turn comes to a close with the northward advance of Parākrama Bāhu from the country round Kurunāgala (Cp. Vol. I, 160 with *Mhvs.* ch. LXX).

As Mr. F. J. Richards has pointed out to me, nations do not develop in isolation; their fortunes are intertwined in a manner we cannot as yet explain. Just as the unrest is now spreading from Europe all over the world so it has probably been in the past. It is certainly not mere coincidence that the progress of Mahāyānism in Ceylon corresponds fairly closely in time with the invasion of the Roman Empire by oriental religions. Some of the Mahāyānist sects obviously have the same original as some of the Christian heresies.

The date of Mahasen is approximately that of the triumph of Constantine, and with him of a religion from the East. But such speculations would lead us too far afield. We must return to Ceylon.

The dearth of images in Ceylon at the time when Mahāyānism was dominant still remains a puzzle.

Fergusson and Burgess in their *Cave Temples of India* (p. 297) remark, "It is indeed this multiplication of images of the Buddha which is most characteristic of the caves of the Mahāyāna sect." It is not the case in Ceylon. Images may have been very common, but made of wood or plastered clay like the vast majority of images at the present day; yet the vogue of Mahāyānism in Ceylon becomes more evident. Here is further evidence.

There is within the precincts of the Thūpārāma, on the south-east side a small temple which was by mistake taken to be the Temple of the Tooth. Ayrton rectified the mistake in his "Excavations in the Citadel" (Memoirs I, 49), though this correction does not yet seem to have reached the general public. This temple belongs, according to its workmanship, to the end of the Anuradhāpura period. It is distinguished by capitals which are so far unique. They were variously interpreted as a lotus flower, and as a tooth, but the reader will see for himself that they bear no resemblance to either but are simply a trident, as was first pointed

out by Ayrton, and later independently by me. I propose, therefore, to call this temple the Trident Temple.

The important point is that this form of trident seems to be associated with Mahāyānism. It is familiar to us in the *dorja* or thunderbolt of Tibet. On plate LIII, I reproduce by Mr. C. F. Winzer's kind permission two examples from his collection. This trident is held by Mahāyānist Bodhisattvas.⁽¹⁾ It would appear then that even the Mahāvihāra which in the fifth century was still the stronghold of the orthodox school had by the tenth century admitted Mahāyānist influences.

If Mahāyānism did not actually dominate Ceylon it certainly disputed the supremacy with the orthodox school. I am inclined to connect with this movement the square temple which at the present day prevails in Ceylon. If we look through the bas-reliefs of Sanchi we shall see that the shrines and hermits' huts of the period are either circular or oblong. We have unfortunately no information for the same period in Ceylon, but we know that topes were built on circular foundations, probably down to the fourth century A.D. Then there is a change: the topes are now built on square platforms, and even the platforms of the archaic topes are square. To the examples given in Vol. II, p. 10, we can add the Raṁsimāligāva at Polonnaruva. The square temple becomes very common, if it did not actually come into existence in this period.

Mahāyānism was largely Hinduized Buddhism and it is not surprising then that the square temple and Mahāyānism came into fashion at the same time.

Plate LIV shows two late moonstones from Horana.

On plate LV (a) appears an unfinished balustrade which lay on the north side of the Priory at Polonnaruva. It shows the method of work.

TOPES

Parker identified the Laṅkārama with the Silāsobbhakaṭaka of *Mhvs.* XXXIII, 87, and Prof. Geiger accepts the identification; yet, according to their translation, it could not be. The Laṅkārama is not "on a lofty spot" or "eminence" as they translate *uccavatthukam*. But *vattu* is really an architectural term: it is a mound or platform on which a building is erected as described in *Mhvs.* XVII, 41, (*vattussa tasso-parito thūpaṁ. . . . cināpetvā*). The early topes were set up on such circular mounds. We must then translate "on a lofty berm" or "mound;" this description agrees entirely with the Laṅkārama which is built on a lofty circular platform, the loftiest I know in proportion to the size of the tope.

(1) Plate LII and K. N. Dikshit, *Six Sculptures from Mahoba*, Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 8.

Two colossal topes were visited in 1928 which undoubtedly belong to the archaic period. The first is that known as Ratravelevehera (Pānama 12 ; $\frac{N}{16}$ 3) a little way north of Rāgamvēli, not far from the south bank of the Nāval Āru (Pl. LVI). The bricks measure

$18\frac{1}{8}$ in. to 19 in. by 9 in. to $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. to $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

There was one $17\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. a size which does not correspond to any of the sizes used in the great topes of Anuradhāpura. This corresponds most nearly to the bricks of the great tope at Mihintale which may belong to the early first century A.D. (Vol. II, p. 5). The other one is the Nilagirisāya (Pānama 15 ; $\frac{M}{13}$ 48) southwards from Lahugala. Only three whole bricks could be found of approximately the same size : $18 \times 9\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$; $18 \times 9 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$; $17\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. It is much the same as at Ratravelevehera. Local tradition ascribes it to Sūratissa, about 240 B.C. and believes that it is mentioned in the *Mhvs.* as Nilagirivehera. Chapter LXXII, 44, does mention a place called Nilagiri in the course of wars ; but there is no mention of any such place among the foundations of Sūratissa. A great many places seem to gain the reputation of being in the *Mahāvamsa*. Thus Koṭavehera (Pānama 17 ; $\frac{N}{11}$ 26) between Lahugala and Pottuvil was locally said to be mentioned under the name of Koṭagalavehera. This is also a colossal tope, probably of the archaic period, though no definite evidence could be found.

The Pānama District seems to be rich in topes of large dimensions, for there is a large one at Visāramunai (Pānama 13 ; $\frac{N}{11}$ 38) on the shore near Pottuvil. It is difficult to say how large as it is buried in sand. Four is a great deal for such a small area and suggests a large population. If so the region must have become depopulated in the following period as there is very little that can be safely ascribed to the gneiss age, and seemingly nothing to the later gneiss age in all along the road from Lahugala to Kūmana.

The scarcity in this area of remains of the same period as the topes confirms the impression already gained that little *durable* work was done in the archaic period besides the topes. It is obviously difficult to build colossal topes and at the same time turn out numerous temples of brick or stone. Parākrama Bāhu did both, but then the history of irrigation leaves no doubt the population was much larger in the twelfth century than before the fourth century, and further he seldom, if ever, made his own materials, but used those of his predecessors. In the archaic period they made their own materials.

There had so far been little doubt as to the appearance in Ceylon of the tope with elongated dome, that is in the shape of a cylinder with rounded top (this Journal, Vol. I, p. 91). It is now definitely proved at

Kuḍimbigala (Pānama 11 ; $\frac{N}{21}$ 2) on the highest point of a steep rock we found a small ruined tope with straight up sides to a height of about 4 feet ; which is as high as it was preserved (Pl. LV (b)). The only whole brick that could be found on the spot was $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$; measurements of brick bats did not tally with this.

We have now two properly dated topes to add to our list. Firstly, the one at Kaludiya Pokuṇa near Sīgiriya. It is dated about the seventh century by the inscription on the guardstone, No. XX in our list of inscribed stones. The base is completely buried, but the shape of the mound leaves no doubt that the tope is of the *Īṇḍikaṭusāya* or *Kaṭusāya* type : small dome on a proportionately large platform faced generally, if not always in this period, with stone. This is then the earliest dated tope of this type, with the possible exception of the *Kaṭusāya* (11, p.10).

There is another one, completely uncovered at Rūṇumahavihāra, (Pānama 2 : $\frac{N}{11}$ 34) the true name of Magulmahavihāra near Pottuvil as recorded in two inscriptions found on the site. The latest date of the tope is given by Nos. XXII and XXIII of our list as ninth century.

Thus our previous conclusions that this type of tope is peculiar to the gneiss age is further confirmed. So far we have not been able, however, to trace it back earlier than the seventh century. I am inclined, however, to think it did make its appearance much earlier. This is as yet pure surmise except possibly for the tope at Pānamavāva (Pānama 19 ; $\frac{N}{16}$ 35). This one is much larger than the other topes of the type, and stands on a square platform with retaining wall of big blocks of gneiss. The use of rubble suggests, though only suggests, an early date ; so does the size, for we should expect the topes decline in size and importance to be gradual. Further, the steps and moonstones and all the stone work round are such as we have been used to set down about the sixth century, early gneiss work we might call it. There are inscriptions close by in a cleft between rocks (Nos. 457-461) : one is B.C., the rest fourth or fifth century A.D.

Our remarks as to the tope's loss of importance agree with what Fergusson and Burgess say in their *Cave Temples of India*, speaking of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta (p. 297). "The Dagaba or relic shrine, which was so generally revered in ancient times, disappears almost entirely from the Vihāras, and is only found in the chaitya caves, and even then it always has an image of Buddha attached to it in front, and personal worship of him evidently, in these instances, replaced that of the symbol under which he had been previously adored." Again, we have the substitution of the living king for the dead king ; for Buddha is a

spiritual king It is in this direction and not in the advent of Hellenistic art that we have to seek for the explanation why the Buddha image is absent in primitive works and appears after the Christian era.

At Ōvagiri (Buttala 20; $\frac{M}{18}$ 20) not far from Buttala there is a small brick tope on a square platform with brick retaining wall. It is difficult to date it: there were bricks of archaic size about; but the tope as a whole does not seem to belong to the archaic period. It seems to have been ascended from the south, a favourite point of the compass apparently in the gneiss period. The reason why I mention this tope here is that the whole stands on a circular terrace with brick retaining wall. I have not so far seen this combination of circle, square, circle elsewhere.

Another novel feature occurs close by at Ovkurāva (Buttala 21; $\frac{M}{18}$ 28). There the tope, also a small one, rests on an *octagonal* base. The bricks of the octagonal base vary in length from $7\frac{3}{4}$ to $11\frac{7}{8}$. The whole stands on a square terrace with retaining wall made of big blocks up to 3 feet in height. The octagon occurs also in Siam. See Fournereau, *Siam Ancient* I, pl. LXXVIII.

At Mr. Codrington's request I inspected Dādigama tope (Beligal 1; $\frac{I}{23}$ 62) which is one of those claimed to be the tope set up to mark the birth place of Parākrama Bāhu the Great (*Mhvs.* LXXIX, 61). Though not as large as the great Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva topes it belongs to the colossal type. That type, as far as our present information goes, is confined to the archaic and to the Polonnaruva periods (Vol. I, 91, 166; II, 3 ff.). The bricks are very regular in size, so they must have been specially made. The size is roughly

$11\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times circ. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The greatest variations are

length $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{7}{8}$ (one only $12\frac{3}{8}$);

breadth $5\frac{3}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ (two 5);

thickness $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{7}{8}$.

one brick was found lying about $14\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. It was doubtless used for some special part such as the pinnacle.

The bricks are thus not of the archaic size (I, p. 2); but they are very near to the whole bricks of the Polonnaruva period generally (I, p. 3) and the Laṅkātilaka in particular (Memoirs II, 12). In spite of the numerous buildings of the Polonnaruva period, however, it is still difficult to assign a definite size owing to the extensive use of olden materials, and what we tentatively put down as Polonnaruva size may very well be eleventh century. However that may be, Dādigama tope certainly belongs to somewhere about Parākrama's time. Mr. Codrington deals with this tope in an article on page 135.

Another claimant is Dālivaḷa (Kinigōḍa 4 ; $\frac{1}{19}$ 51) near Raṁbukkana. Nothing unfortunately can be made of this tope as it is now : the facing is nowhere visible nor could any whole bricks be found, in fact there is remarkably little brick for a tope of its size. On the other hand, much stone rubble is visible on the slopes, and one can only suspect that the core consisted of rubble with earth and only the facing was brick (Cp. I, p. 44). Locally it is ascribed to Daḷupatissa or Dāḷiyatissa, the Dāthopattissa of the *Mahāvamsa* ; if this were correct the colossal tope would have extended right into the seventh century, but we want better evidence than local tradition to establish such a fact. Tradition is usually to be treated with respect, but we must be sure that it is real tradition ; there are so many wild identifications of recent date that spread like wild fire. The most flagrant case I know is that of the so-called Borrough's pavilion at Anurādhapura. In reality it is an entrance porch like those of the Western Monasteries, only later in date, about the tenth century. It has been declared by some one on no evidence at all to be Mahinda's preaching platform. And this is what the guides are now telling the tourists.

TEMPLES

The Diyasunnata Temple at Raṁbukkana (Pl. LVIII) is a good modern example of the single platform.

The Galmaḍuva Temple near Kandy is the same plan rendered in stone (Pl. LIX).

Temples on *pīlas* are not uncommon (Pl. LX). They explain the building on piles at Arankālē (Pl. LXI).

CAVES

At Baṁbaragastalāva (Pānama 10 ; $\frac{N}{21}$ 17) we found the earliest structural remains of a cave so far noticed. The wall at the north-east is fairly well preserved. It is built of large sized bricks. The only one we could measure completely was

$$15 \text{ in.} \times 7\frac{7}{8} \text{ in.} \times 2 \text{ in.}$$

For the rest we had to be content with two measurements only, and then we were hampered by hornets. The length varied from $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 17 and the thickness from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$. It may possibly have been rebuilt as the colossal recumbent Buddha inside has been restored, and the south-west wall has certainly been rebuilt.

There can be no question of rebuilding, at least in recent times, of the cave temple at Ratravevehera near the tope referred to in the

section on Topes. The mouldings are given on plate LVI. Note the absence of the sigma curve at the bottom.

TOWN PLANNING

The general features of town planning were discussed in this journal (Vol. I, p. 150 ff.). It will be interesting to compare Sinhalese practice as illustrated by remains and *Mhvs.* X 84 ff. with Kauṭilya's theory as expounded in his *Arthaśāstra*, chapters 3 and 4 of Book II. He allows the king's fortified capital to be "round, long or square." We have seen that in Ceylon capitals are usually square or oblong, in intention at least, if not always accurate in practice. At Nuvarakālē we have what appears to be a circular fort : it is very small. (Pl. LXII).

He recommends three ditches ; at Agalakālē, Māntai, and Yāpahuva there is a double rampart. At Nuvarakālē there may possibly be three moats, but if so the innermost one is just a moat round the central building, not round the whole settlement. Anyhow the details of the plan must remain obscure pending excavation.

There should, according to Kauṭilya, be three "king's streets" running east and west, and three east and south, and consequently 12 gates, three to each side. In Ceylon the streets run generally north and south, east and west, but not with anything like mathematical accuracy. Eastern, a Southern, a Western, but the secondary gates are not mentioned (*Mhvs.* XVI, 4 ; XXV, 79 ; X, 90). Prof. Geiger says the battle of Kolombahālaka took place not far from the north gate, *Mhvs.* 33, 42 note, but I can find no actual mention of the north gate in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Kuruṇāgala in the fourteenth century had four main streets according to the *Kuruṇāgala Vistaraya*. Since "the 4 streets of the city were made like a lotus flower taken in the hand" it is evident those streets radiated from a centre ; and since the Brahman's street was to the west, Sand street to the east, street of the gods to the south, and the Great street to the north it is evident they were arms of a cross pointing to the four quarters.

Corresponding to the four gates were four suburbs : the Indian term is "gate villages" (*Mhvs.* X, 88).

Kauṭilya's rule is that the king's palace should lie to the north of the centre of the citadel. This rule cannot have been observed in Anurādhapura, if the palace was at all near the Temple of the Tooth. In Polonnaruva it was definitely not the case, since the palace lies at the southern end. It is impossible to say whether the Anurādhapura palace followed Kauṭilya's rule that it should face east or north. The Polonnaruva palace faces east. The one at Yāpahuva faced south-east. At

Kurunāgala we have no evidence. In Kandy it faces west. Kauṭilya distributes the four castes and various occupations to the four quarters from the palace. The castes are distributed thus: royal to the east, mercantile to the south, servile to the west, priestly to the north. The *Kurunāgala Vistaraya*, as we have seen, puts the street of the Brahmans to the west. There was usually, if not always, a merchants' street, Hettividiya (in Colombo Chetty Street). Such a street is not mentioned in the *Kurunāgala Vistaraya*.

Kauṭilya and the *Mahāvamsa* differ as regards the position of the cemetery. Kauṭilya says it should be north or east, except that of the highest castes which should be south. The Anurādhapura cemetery was to the west, which accords better with our expectation, since the west is generally the region of darkness and death. It was pointed out in the last summary but one (I, p. 155) that this also appeared to be the case in Burma. It is definitely so in Siam, for Mr. Fournereau tells us that "a fifth gate situated to the west, bore the name of Gate of the Dead" (*Siam Ancien* I, 110). These differences may be explained by the story of the Great Decease (*Dīgha* II, 160) that the Mallas wished to carry the Buddha's body to the south of their city and cremate it there; a decision in accordance with Kauṭilya's rule that members of the highest castes should have their burial place to the south. The gods, however, would not let them lift up the body except through the city to the east to the sanctuary known as the "Putting-on-the-Crown," where it was cremated. The Buddha was too exalted to be cremated even on the side affected to the aristocracy: he had to be treated as a god.

In Anurādhapura the "First Tope" (Paṭhama Cetiya) is outside the east gate; and it is a curious fact that no topes are known on the west side.

Kauṭilya places heretics and outcastes (*caṇḍāla*) at the end of the burial place, and the *Mahāvamsa* agrees as regards the outcastes since it puts them to the north-west of the cemetery therefore on the further side of it. It is not clear as regards heretics; we only know that the Yonas, presumably foreigners, were west of the city like the cemetery.

MOATED SITES

To the moated sites enumerated in the last summary we have now to add Kaludiya Pokuṇa (Vagapanaha Pallesiya I; ^G/₂₁ 41), four or five miles south of the 3rd mile on the main road to Sigiriya. It is on a larger scale than those previously noted. It lies at the foot of Eravala hill on the north side. It is square, the east and west sides being formed by natural gulleys which convey the water streaming down from the hill (Pl. LXIII). The north side is a shallow depression. There seems to

have been a wall along here, with possibly a porch. Towards the south the two sides are very much cut up by little streams and are in consequence difficult to trace. The south side is connected with the hill side by an isthmus, how far intentional, how far accidental it is difficult to tell. On this site there is a mound which is obviously a tope in the north-eastern corner, not the same position as at Vijayārāma. The shape of the mound leaves no doubt that it was a tope of the Selacetiya and Indikaṭusāya type (this journal, Vol. I, pl. X ; Vol. II, pl. XV), that is a small dome on a square platform. The only part exposed is the guard-stone, which has been discussed under inscribed stones as No. XXI.

There are rows of high pillars to the south-west of the tope. On grounds of workmanship I ascribe them to about the sixth century, but this is purely conjectural. Of the other remains only mounds and tops of pillars are visible, except for the slab bearing inscription No. 430. On the isthmus there is a cave with inscription No. 429.

These inscriptions give the name of the site as Dakinīgīrīvehera, which was founded by Saddhātissa about 70 B.C.

What is the meaning of these moated sites ? We have just discussed town planning and we saw that the ideal plan of a city is a square with sides facing the four quarters and main gates in the middle of the sides. These moated monasteries and cities have then essentially the same plan. May they not both then be sprung from the same original ?

In India the secular and the religious have never quite parted company. What we call the temporal is to them merely one branch of the spiritual : the king is the god ; the daily ritual of the Temple of the Tooth is acknowledged by the priests to be modelled on the daily ritual of the king. The Sinhalese do not distinguish in their speech between a temple and a palace.⁽¹⁾ In Sinhalese art a king sits on a throne under a canopy like that of a god, and rides in a chariot in form like a temple chariot. The city is essentially the king's residence, and it is no doubt on account of its sacred character that outcastes are not allowed to reside in it.⁽²⁾

The same principle may explain the fact that the dwelling quarters of the priests are always on the right hand side of the temple as you face the main entrance. As the normal orientation of the temple is towards the east it follows that the priests' quarters are normally to the north. Now the north is the quarter of the Brahmins : this is not merely a mystic connection, but a practical rule : Kautilya assigns the northern quarter of the citadel to the priests and calls the northern gate Brahmins' gate (B. K. II, cp. 4). The Buddhist priests have taken the place of the Brahmins and therefore live on the north side.

(1) *Māligāva*.

(2) Cp. Homer's *Hieron Ptolethron*.

IRRIGATION

Mr. Paranavitana's note on 1·7 of the Thūpārama slab inscription (*Ep. Zey.* III, p. 119), written after the last Archaeological Summary, deals with the tank called *Nakara vavi*. Etymologically it is the same as Nuvaravāva described in this journal, Vol. I, p. 157, and it is probably the same tank. In that case Nuvaravāva was in existence in the second century A.D.

On plate LXIV appears a barrage or anicut of an earlier style, it would appear, than the one described on p. 163 of the 1st volume of this journal. The stones are roughly shaped more or less into cubes. This anicut was built across the Kal Āru and is situated about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles upstream from the Madavacciya-Mannar road ($\frac{C}{2}$ 23).

An anicut of the same style but much larger dimensions was built across the Aṃbangaṅga near the $12\frac{1}{4}$ mile on the Nāula-Ālahara road in the Mātale District ($\frac{I}{6}$ 3).

In connection with Dr. Ph. Vogel's Indian Serpent Lore it is interesting to note that the Ceylon figures of cobras were commonly placed on dams. Unfortunately all those I have seen with one possible exception have been set up again. We have, however, the evidence of Parker (p. 637) who is said to have been in the habit of putting them up on the irrigation works he restored, to the effect that slabs on which the figures of cobras (Nagas) in high relief are set up as protectors at the base of dāgābas and at the outlets of the larger sluices in Ceylon. The one on the top of the Tisā dam at Anurādhapura over the sluice appears not to have been moved.

Mr. Bell photographed two *nāga* stones at the Ēruvāva sluice (Pl. LXV)

Cobras are also connected with artificial pools. There is the well-known figure cut out of the live rock near top of Mihintale hill (Pl. LXVI). I reproduce a photograph taken by Mr. Bell of one over a pool at Vanna-maḍuva ($\frac{F}{10}$ 51) (Pl. LXVII).

Those who are interested in the ancient traditions of the Island might do useful work in seeking for modern survivals of this connection between *nāgas* and reservoirs. They might in particular look in the direction of those ceremonies which I am told the villagers hold annually to prevent the bunds of the village reservoirs from bursting (the royal ones can look after themselves).

The Jains believed that vast numbers of *nāgas* protected the continent of Jambudvīpa from inundation (W. Kirfel, *Kosmographie* p. 244).

POTTERY

The excavation at Māntai, alias Tirukkētiśvaram, alias Tirukkēśvaram, though now carried down to a depth of 19 feet, have exhibited little change in the character of the pottery. This was as we anticipated (I, p. 50); but as certain sequences can already be discerned it is as well to take a preliminary view of Sinhalese pottery.

Although the wheel is extensively used in Ceylon there is little pottery that is entirely wheel-made; in fact the only pottery so made is that which requires thick walls, for instance, irrigation pipes. Even so the well rings (I, p. 53), though thick, are still made entirely by hand, evidently because they are too large to be handled on the wheel.

The usual method of making a pot is to shape it with a thick wall on the wheel. It is then put out to dry a little, and when it is dry enough it is beaten out to larger size with thin walls by the well-known method of stone and mallet. Instruments used to beat out pots have been presented to Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

Thus we find all Sinhalese pots are wheel made round the rim, and hand made over the rest of the body.

I know of no indigenous glazed pottery made in Ceylon. It is common at Māntai, but certainly all of foreign origin. A red wash is as far as the Sinhalese got (I, p. 9).

As curry and rice is the staple food of the country it follows that a housewife's outfit is based upon its requirements (Pl. LXVIII).

First, we have two pots which are used for washing the rice, the *nāmbili*,⁽¹⁾ filled with uncooked rice and water is held in the hands and gently swayed about so that the friction removes the particles of dirt which get caught in the grooves. Every now and then some of the rice is poured off into the *koraha*, a large pot similarly grooved, but with a flat bottom. When the *nāmbili* is empty, it is washed free of grit and the operation is repeated. The rice is cooked in the *muttiya* and eaten with curry in the *batvalanda* which simply means rice pot. This pot is also used during the preparation of food to hold coconut juice. The curry is cooked in the *ātili* which is characterized by a shallow bottom and high sides. The *kalagedi* is used for carrying water, and is therefore shaped so that it can be placed on the hip with the arm round the neck.

These form the essential equipment of a household; but there are, of course, other kinds. We saw for instance, at Pālugama (^F₁₈ 39) north of Gālgamuwa some large ones with lids that were used to keep good clothes.

(1) Strictly speaking we should say a *nāmbiliya* not *nāmbili* pots; but such acuity is superfluous and puzzling to the reader who does not know Sinhalese. I therefore drop the suffix regardless of Sinhalese usage.

As each pot is well adapted to its special purpose little variation is to be expected through the ages. As they are purely utilitarian there is no ornament to speak of ; what little there is we must depend upon for our chronology.

The mallets with which pots are beaten out have often one side smooth and the other grooved. At the present day the grooved side is used sparingly ; the only grooving I have seen in a modern pot is just round the top ; it may be a broad band, but it does not cover the whole surface. The grooves are shallow and all run vertically, so that it is clear they are merely the last touch. It is different in pottery from about the fifteenth century backwards ; nothing is common in excavations than pots and sherds completely covered with these grooves running in all directions and crossing one another. It is these grooves which in the small sherds found at Veherabāṇḍigala we mistook for the marks of binding (Memoirs II, 23). Evidently in those times the pot was beaten all over with the grooved side of the mallet. The grooves are sometimes very deep (Pl. LXIX).

Some mallets appear to have had other markings such as squares. There are some neater productions in which the mallet has evidently been applied carefully. Less common is the chevron type. It may be merely local like some other fancy types.

The inside grooves of the *nāmbili* and *koraha* are made with a comb of which a specimen is to be seen in the Pitt Rivers Museum. The present day pattern, which might be described as the fern frond, has not so far occurred in excavations, except for one small fragment very like it, evidently a close relation found in a stratum which must be earlier than the fourteenth century. The commonest pattern at Māntai is three or four straight lines running obliquely right and left from below the rim and thus intersecting with diamond shaped blanks between them. Sometimes there the lines are double, sometimes only single. The type shows signs of disappearing at lower levels, whereas the contemporary type in which the whole surface is covered with the lines without any blanks still continues to appear at the lowest levels reached. There is a rare pattern in which straight parallel lines are combined with many ones : only four examples have been found and all on or just below the surface. It may thus constitute a transition from the straight lines to the modern pattern.

It is only in the curry pots that there is much scope for mouldings. They are as a rule much more elaborate in the examples of the fourteenth century and earlier.

The exception I referred to above is a pot found at the 21st mile-post on the Puttalam-Mannar road. The bottom portion is wheel made

and from there it has been built up, doubtless with stone and mallet. The thickness of the walls is about $\frac{7}{8}$ in. and there is no slip. This is one of many pots that were found at the same place all standing buried in the ground with the tops broken off. The one we dug up contained smaller pots each filled with earth and ashes. Evidently this is an ancient cemetery. This method of burial is not practised at the present day either among Tamils or Sinhalese. Only systematic excavation can decide whether this is ancient Sinhalese or pre-Sinhalese.

Ayrton found at the Western Monasteries fragments which he described as "pottery pinnacles" (Memoirs I, pls. 61, 66, 67). Similar fragments were found at Veherabāṇḍigala (*Ibid* II, pl. 67). Large numbers were found in the upper strata at Māntai, some of them complete or nearly so. It then became plain that these were not finials since they had feet and were meant to stand on the ground. Their function, however, remained a mystery till similar pieces were seen at Bimpokuṇa ($\frac{F}{19}$ 49) near Galgamuva. The priest there called them *pāṇkaṇḍu*, lamp stem, and said they were still made at Pālugama. The Pālugama specimens, however, are very different from those found in excavation (Pl. LXX). For one thing they are smaller and made in two pieces. Secondly, the top itself constitutes the lamp. There is a cone in the middle on which perches a cock. The ancient ones, on the other hand, being hollow right through cannot have served as lamps, but if they were lamp stands the lamp must have been placed on the top. From the size of the top of some one may infer that they were used for large dishes rather than lamps. They are just earthenware equivalents of the large bronze stand figured in Vol. I, pl. 64, of the Memoirs. The specimens found at Anurādhapura and Veherabāṇḍigala do not flare out at the top but end in a point, the Pālugama examples may possibly explain this: they were meant to carry something spitted on the point, they thus correspond to the small brass stand of Vol. I, pl. 64, of the Memoirs.

SEAL

Plate LXXI (a) reproduces the original and two impressions of a carnelian seal found in a channel near Nakā Vehera at Anurādhapura and now in Colombo Museum No. 29. 11. 421. It represents a woman holding a flower; it is curious that while this seal corresponds to one side of the Sinhalese coins, a similar seal found by Mr. Parker (in *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 495) corresponds to the other side.

TOPOGRAPHY

Tōṇigala ($\frac{F}{22}$ 35) is situated on the 39½ mile-post on the Kurunāgala to Puttalam road. The dams of the tank is in great part natural,

consisting of a long line of gneiss rocks. This line of low rocks extends about one mile east-north-east and ends in two high hills of gneiss, one 534 feet high. This last place is now called Paramākanda, and there is an ancient monastery since partially restored and occupied.

There are two inscriptions on the rocks that dam Tōṇigala tank. They stand first in Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* to which I refer the reader. The tank is there said to lie at the "Acagirika Tissa hill." Either the west end then or the whole range was then known by that name.

At Paramākanda itself there are several inscriptions, one of which is Müller's No. 25. This and another one are given by Parker on page 438 of his *Ancient Ceylon*. The cave one records the grant of the cave to the priesthood by the same Honourable Tissa, son of the Honourable Abaya, who gave the Tōṇigala tank. The whole then formed one large property or fief and became the property of the same monastery.

The *Mahāvamsa* (XXI, 6) mentions a monastery called Accagalla in the east. The *Ṭikā*, commenting on this verse, says: "It is called Accagalla in the east as opposed to the Acca Monastery established by King Devānampiyatissa in the southern region." The southern region, as we have seen, is not the Southern Province (Vol. I, 160) but the Kurunāgala country. The locality and the age of the inscriptions agree with the date of the *Mahāvamsa*.

The remains at Paramākanda are, as usual, of different periods, from some time B.C. to about the sixth century A.D. I have noticed no remains that can, in the present state of our knowledge, be ascribed to a later period.

It is not often one gets a site labelled with its name; and we should therefore collect all the cases we can. There is such a site now called Kaludiya Pokuna, of old Dakṣiṇagiri, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles as the crow flies roughly south-south-west of Sigiriya. We have already referred to it in the section "Moated Sites."

The *Mahāvamsa* several times mentions a Dakkhiṇagiri monastery. First as a foundation of Saddhātissa's who reigned in the latter half of the second century B.C. (XXXIII, 7). Then as restored by Dhātusena in the second part of the fifth century A.D. (XXXVIII, 46). It was restored again by Aggabodhi I some hundreds years later (XLII, 27). The last mention is under Kassapa IV in the early part of the tenth century.

Among the archives of the department was discovered a tracing of an ancient road extending from the Malvatu Oya towards Mihintale. There can be little doubt that this is the old Mihintale road. It joins up not with the road issuing from the centre of the east side of the city,

but from a road that passes north of the city. Doubtless, however, the two roads converged (Pl. LXXII).

Mr. Codrington deals in a separate article with the road from Ruhuna north. Mr. W. E. Fernando failed to find the road marked by gav pillars, but found another more or less parallel (Pl. LXXIII).

PRE-HISTORICS

When we call a thing pre-historic we do not necessarily assert that it was made in pre-historic times. It may be a pre-historic type that has continued to be made in historic, even recent times.

Thus trilithons still survive in Ceylon. Plate LXXI (b) shows one near Habarana, a village at the junction of the Kandy-Trincomalee with the Polonnaruwa road in the North-Central Province. They are called "Gonaṭu." The following statement about them is translated from the Sinhalese. "People in these parts say that when pregnant women die, they are reborn as *bōḍiri*⁽¹⁾ birds. 'Gonaṭu' are made to liberate them from this. Wayfarers place on the top the loads that they carry either on their heads or shoulders and sit near by and rest. By that grace (*kusala*) the woman who is born as a *bōḍiri* bird is liberated from that and is born in a better world."

It is interesting to compare with this the fact that the great trilithon in Tongatapu is known in Tongan as the "Burden of Mani."

It seems highly probable chert and quartz implements continued to be produced in historic times. In Malaysia they have been found with pottery marked with the grooved mallet.⁽²⁾

Mr. Paranavitane makes the following report on some remains in the Eastern Province.

"About two miles to the north-west of Katiravēli Rest House, in the Kōralai Pattu, Batticaloa District, there is a place known as *Kuraṇ-gupadai eḍutta vembu* 'the margosa tree under which the monkeys encamped.' The ground here is low and sandy, having only a few stunted trees; and in the rainy season becomes a swamp. Many rude stone slabs are scattered about the place. It is certain that they were brought here by human agency. Very little or no attempt has been made to cut the stones; they are just flakes from the surface of the numerous hummocks of gneiss with which the country abounds. They have just been cut to the required size and shape. Upon close examination there appears to have been some order in the apparent confusion. They lie in groups of four or five; and there are unmistakable signs that some of them have been set up on the ground. There is one group which

(1) Mythical bird or fairy.

(2) I. H. N. Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, p. 155.

still shows the original structure (Pl. LXXIV). Two slabs, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and of the same breadth are standing erect and two slabs of similar proportions, which had been set up on the two sides have fallen down and remain on the ground. The guide who took me to the place told me that these two slabs were also standing erect some years ago, but have been cast down by wild elephants. There was also, he told me, another slab placed on the top which was removed by the villagers to Katiravēli where it was utilized in the building of a Hindu Temple. Thus it leaves us in no doubt that this was a primitive altar or cist about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and of the same height. Some light is thrown on the purpose of this rude structure by a statement of Buddhaghosa in the *Paramatthajotikā*, commentary to the *Suttanipāta*. In the Suciloma Sutta of that text we are told that the Buddha was once dwelling near the abode of the *yakṣa* Suciloma (sharp-hair) which was known by the name of *Ṭaṅkitamañca*. Buddhaghosa, in his commentary, explains the word *Ṭaṅkitamañca* as follows:—*Ṭaṅkita mañco'ti catunnam pāsāṇānam upari vitthataṃ pāsāṇaṃ āropetvā kato pāsāṇa mañco*. 'Ṭaṅkitamañca is a stone platform made by raising a flat stone on four other stones.' It is also said that the yaksha's abode was by the side of this platform; and there is no doubt that it served the purpose of an altar in the ritual connected with his worship. The stone structure at Kuraṅgupaḍai-eḍutta-vembu corresponds exactly to the description given by Buddhaghosa and we are justified in taking it as a *ṭaṅkita mañca* connected with the yaksha cult. Popular tradition also supports this theory. The place is known among the villagers to this day as a *kōvil*, temple; and there are legends connected with it. As the name implies, it is believed by the villagers to be the place where Sugrīva, Hanumān and other monkey generals of Rāma's army had their hosts encamped before giving battle to the *rākshasas*. If as suggested, this structure was connected with a *yaksha* cult it might have been a pre-Buddhist and probably pre-Sinhalese monument; and is worth further investigation. The place also contains other relics of ancient human occupation."

LEGENDS

At Ōkanda Point ($\frac{N}{21}$ 19) they point to two long parallel rocks very much like overturned canoes in shape. These are called Ranorugala, or Golden-Canoe-rock. The tradition is that these are the two canoes in which the god of Kataragama in the south-eastern part of Ceylon came to that island. He landed here and went to the place where the temple of Ōkanda now stands. A vādda came to chop the canoe, but it turned into stone.

The stone canoe is not peculiar to Ceylon. A stone canoe occurs in the legend of Roviana in the Solomans. In Fiji, I have seen two small parallel stones which represented the canoe of two goddesses. Another legend of the same kind was told in this journal, I, 60, which also finds its exact parallel in Fiji where there is a cloth board, etc., of two goddesses.

The following is a translation of a legend which is current concerning the two guardstones with dwarf door-keepers carved on them that stand at the south entrance to the Northern Tope at Anurādhapura. They date from about the tenth century. (Plate LXXV).

"When King Mahāsenā was depositing the hair relic of the Buddha, the body relic, together with a portion of the girdle relic four fingers long brought by Śakra, King of the Gods, the fact was reported to the two great Bhairavas who kept guard at the door of the Jetavanārāma in India. Those two came and asked, 'who has the power to establish in Ceylon a Jetavanārāma called after the Jetavanārāma in India?' They were brought into the presence of King Mahasen by his attendants. When the king had seen them the anger that was in the minds of the two Bhairavas passed away and they made obeisance to the King. Then on the king's asking them, 'why they have come here?' they told him the whole business, concealing nothing. Thereupon these two Bhairavas were told by the king that in the same manner as they mounted guard at the Indian Jetavanārāma so they ought to mount guard at this Jetavanārāma till the end of the Buddhist religion. Receiving his command they carved two stone images in likeness of their two selves, fixed them by the south porch and departed to India after promising, 'In our absence whoever unfolds his troubles in presence of our statues by our look those troubles will all pass away.'

"They dwell in India. Whoever explains his troubles or any other matter in presence of the two images that are here by their look he will find consolation. When they come (to Ceylon) they stay near the images."

People take oaths there.

DOLMEN AT PADIYAGAMPOLA NEAR RAMBUKKANA¹ (PLATES LXXVI AND LXXVII)

The existence of this pre-historic structure, the only one of its class that has so far been discovered in Ceylon, was brought to the notice of the Archaeological Department by Mr. F. Lewis of Kandy.

It is situated in the village named Padiyagampola (I 19/51) in the Valgam Pattu of the Kāgalla District at a distance of about three miles to the north-west of Rāmbukkana, on the foothills of the central moun-

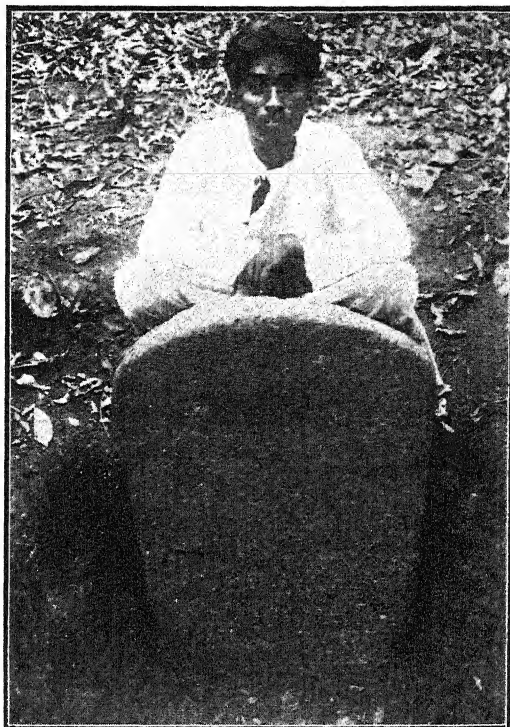
1. This note on the Dolmen was written by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant, and was received after the rest of the paper had gone to the press. (Ed.)

tain range of the Island. The structure is now known to the villagers by the name of Maliyadeva Guhārāma (the cave dwelling of Maliyadeva) owing to the belief that the Saint Maliyadeva, one of the last of the *arhants* of Ceylon, sojourned here for some time. Near the dolmen is a modern Buddhist temple and this structure itself was being utilised, when I visited the place, as a store house by the resident priest. Mud walls had also been put up to block the passage at the northern end of the structure.

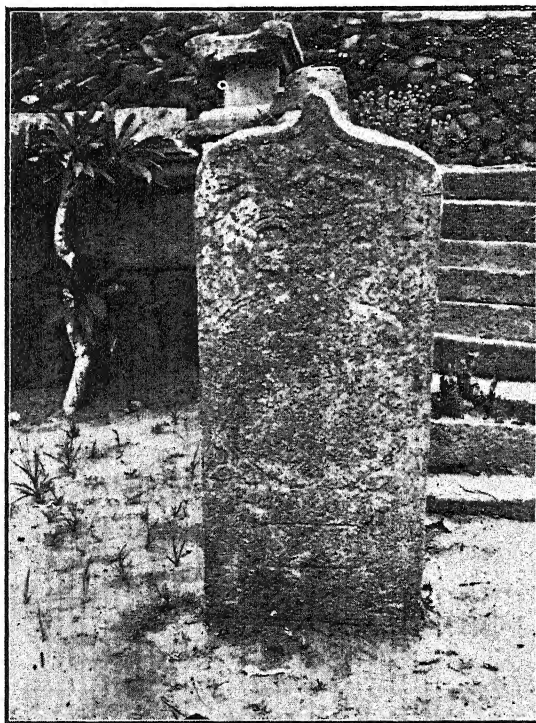
It is constructed of three upright slabs and a covering stone placed horizontally on them. The two longer upright slabs measure roughly 12 ft. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. each; the upright stone at the northern end measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The covering stone, irregular in shape and measuring 17 ft. by 15 ft., is in a somewhat slanting position and has cracked. The thickness of the slabs is about 15 inches. The room measures, internally, 11 ft. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft.; and the height from the present ground level to the covering stone is 6 ft.

The southern side is open and there is a passage 2 ft. 7 in. broad on the northern side also. The stones do not bear any marks of being chiselled, excepting at the southern end of the long upright slab on the western side where there are chisel marks along the height to a breadth of 18 inches. This, most probably, was not an original feature of the structure.

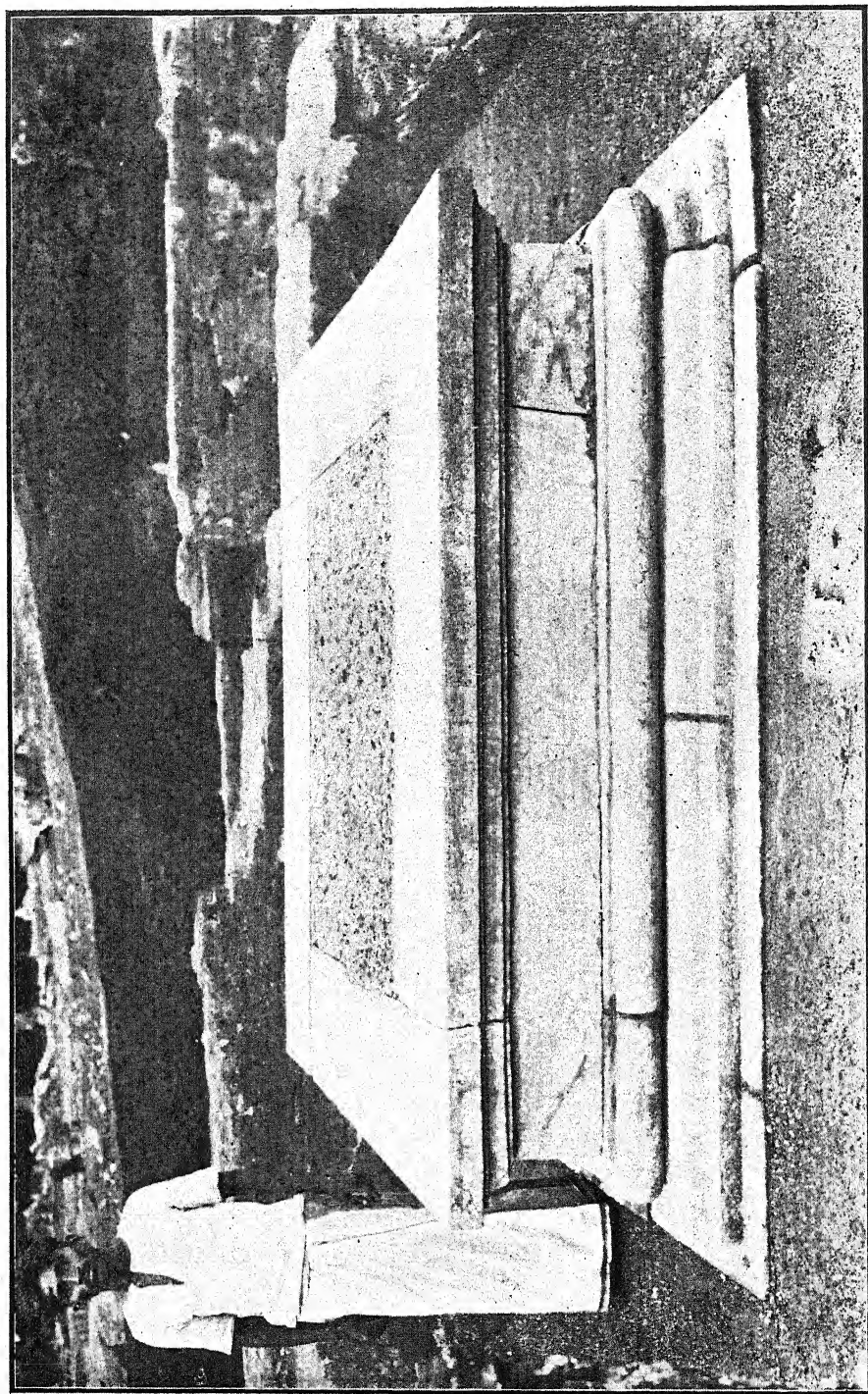
About a mile to the west of the dolmen there is a hill on which are several caves with Brāhmī inscriptions.



A. Guardstone at Kaludiyapokuna



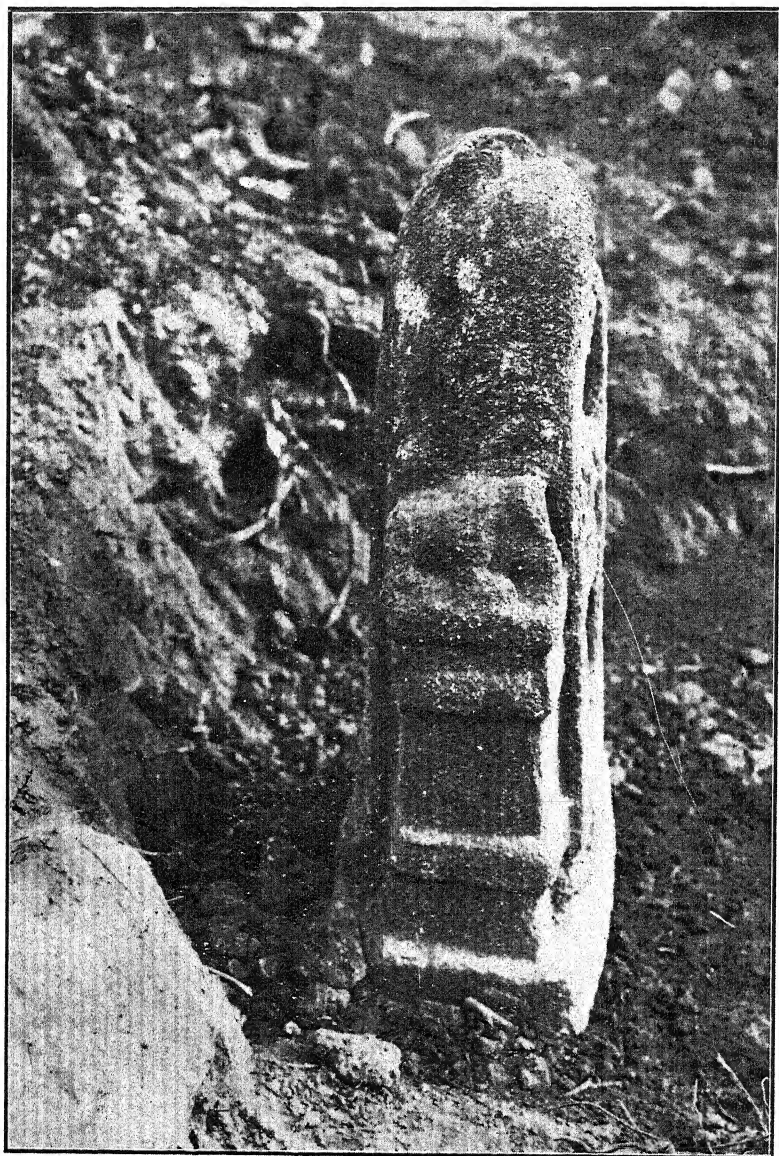
B. Guardstone at Rūṇumāvehera (Magul Mahavihāra)



Āsana in Building "A" excavated near the Gedigē at Anurādhapura



Rūṇamahavehera, Guardstone, east side of Building E



Guardstone, east side of Building E at Rūnumahavehara

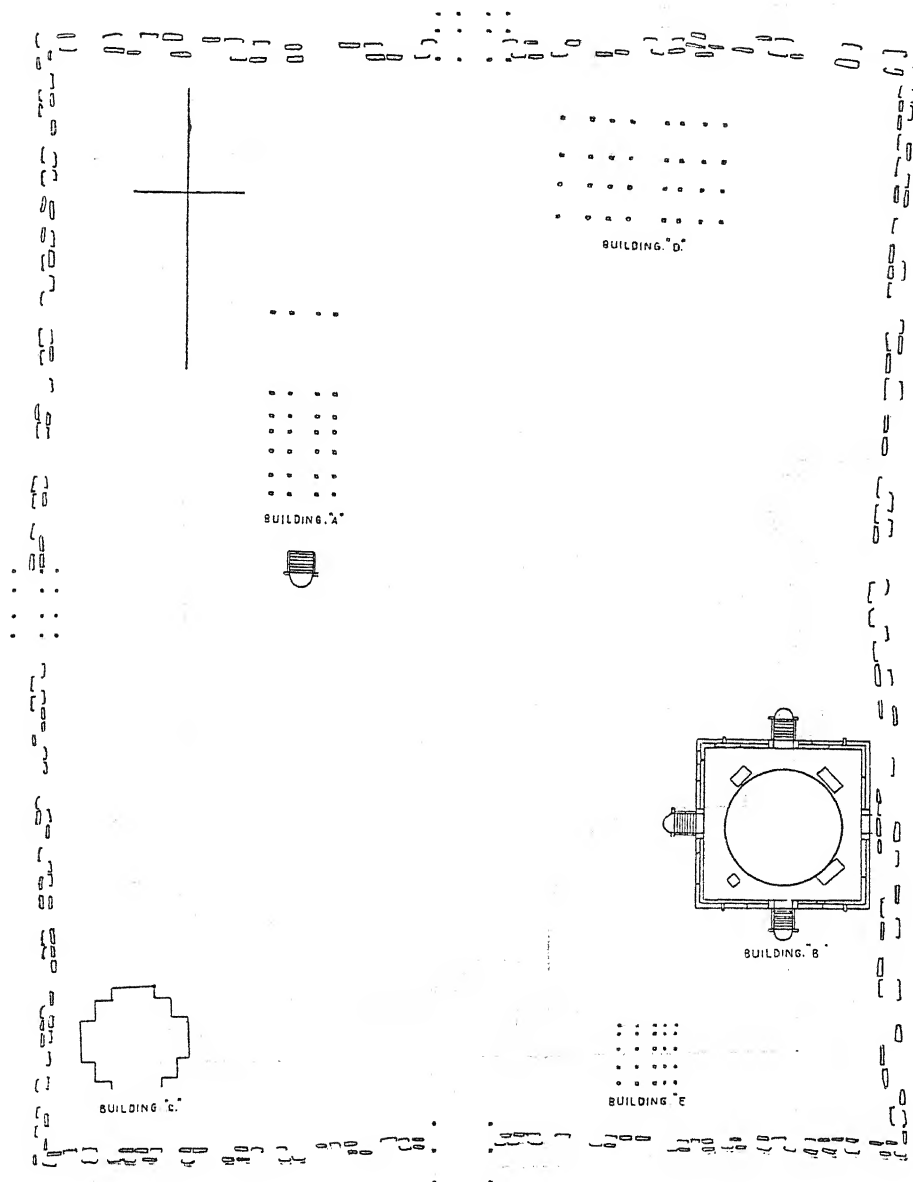


Rūṇumahavehera, left Guardstone south side of Building A



Guardstone outside north entrance of Rūṇumahavehera

RUNAMAVIHARE.
NOW
MANGULMAHAVIHARE
NEAR POTTUVIL.



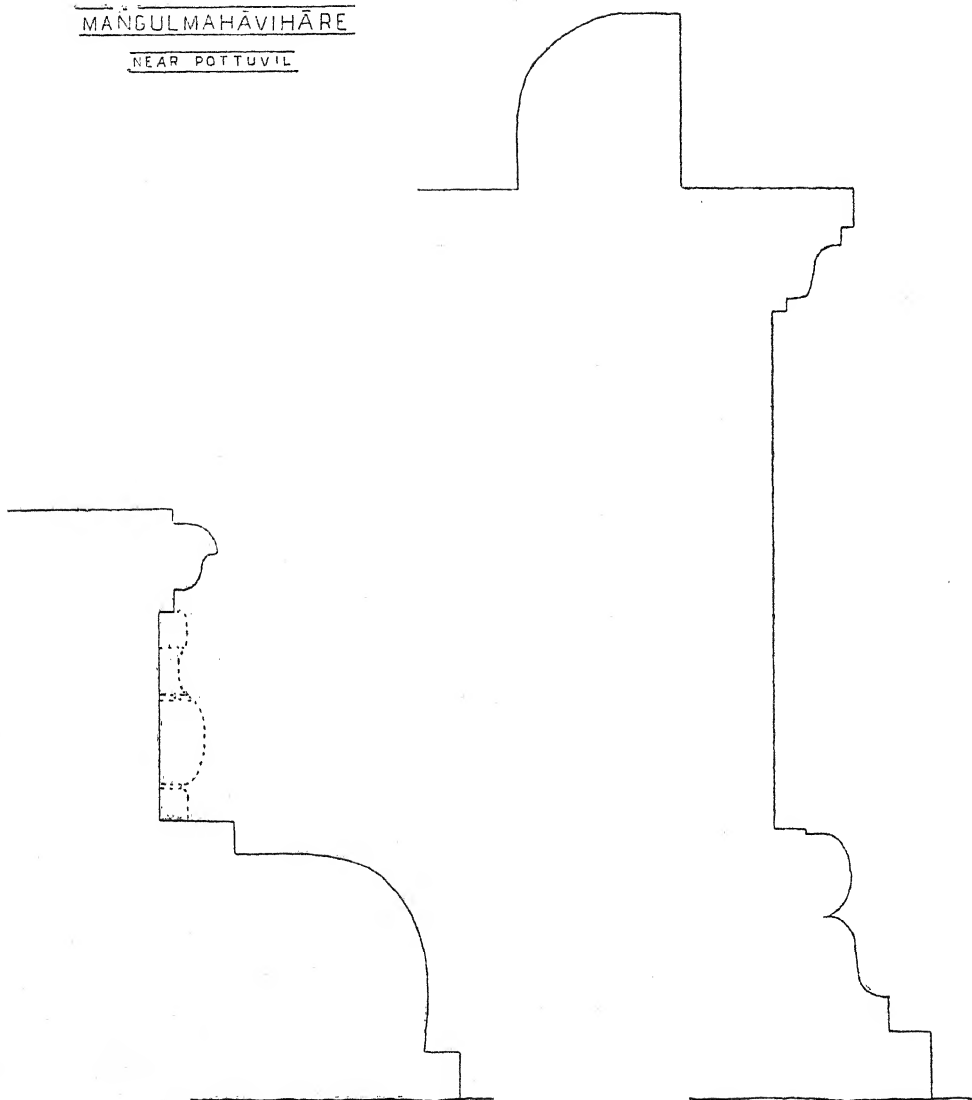
SCALE:—6+ FEET TO AN INCH.

RUNAMĀVIHĀRE

NOW

MANGULMAHĀVIHĀRE

NEAR POTTUVIL

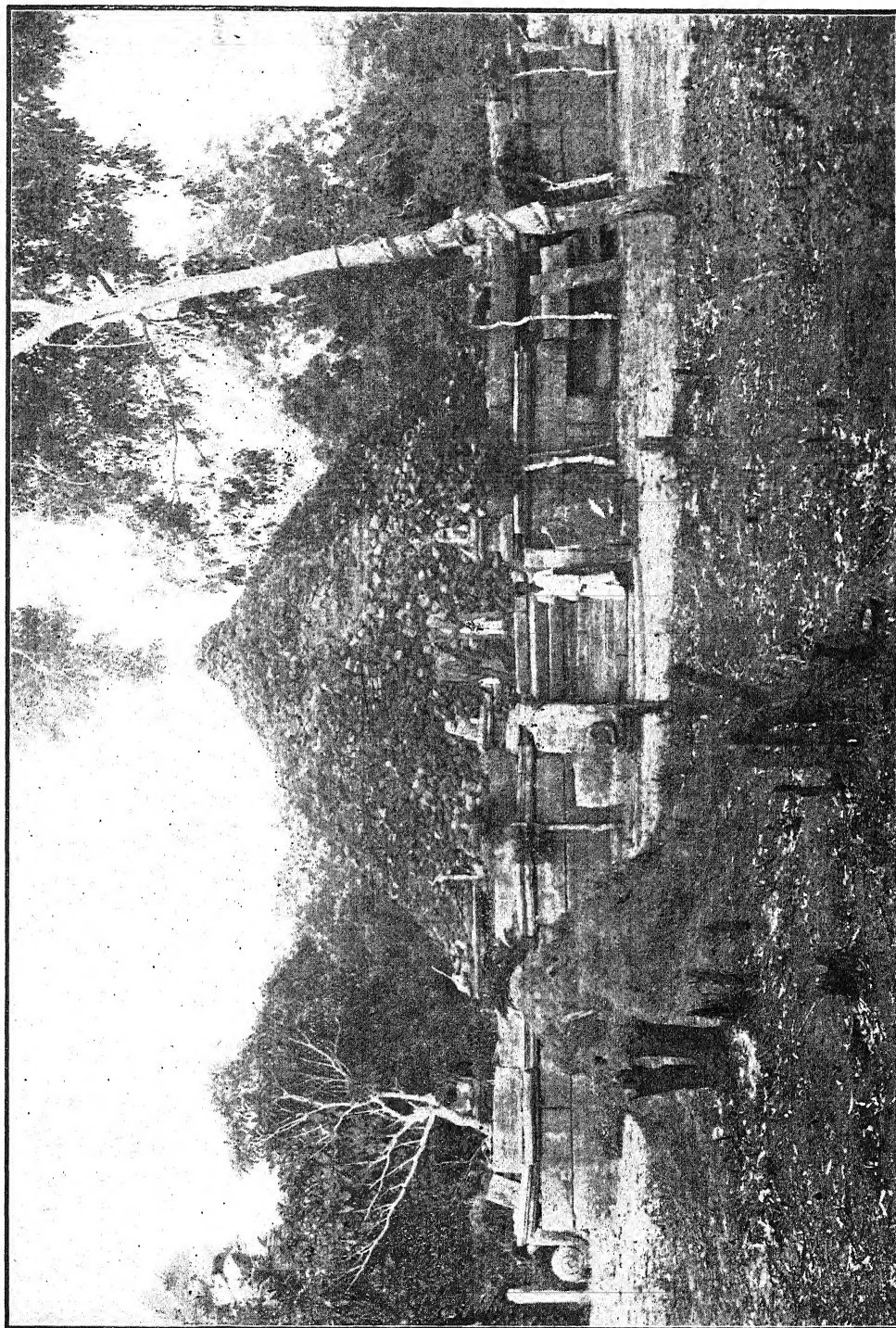


MOULDINGS OF BUILDING C.

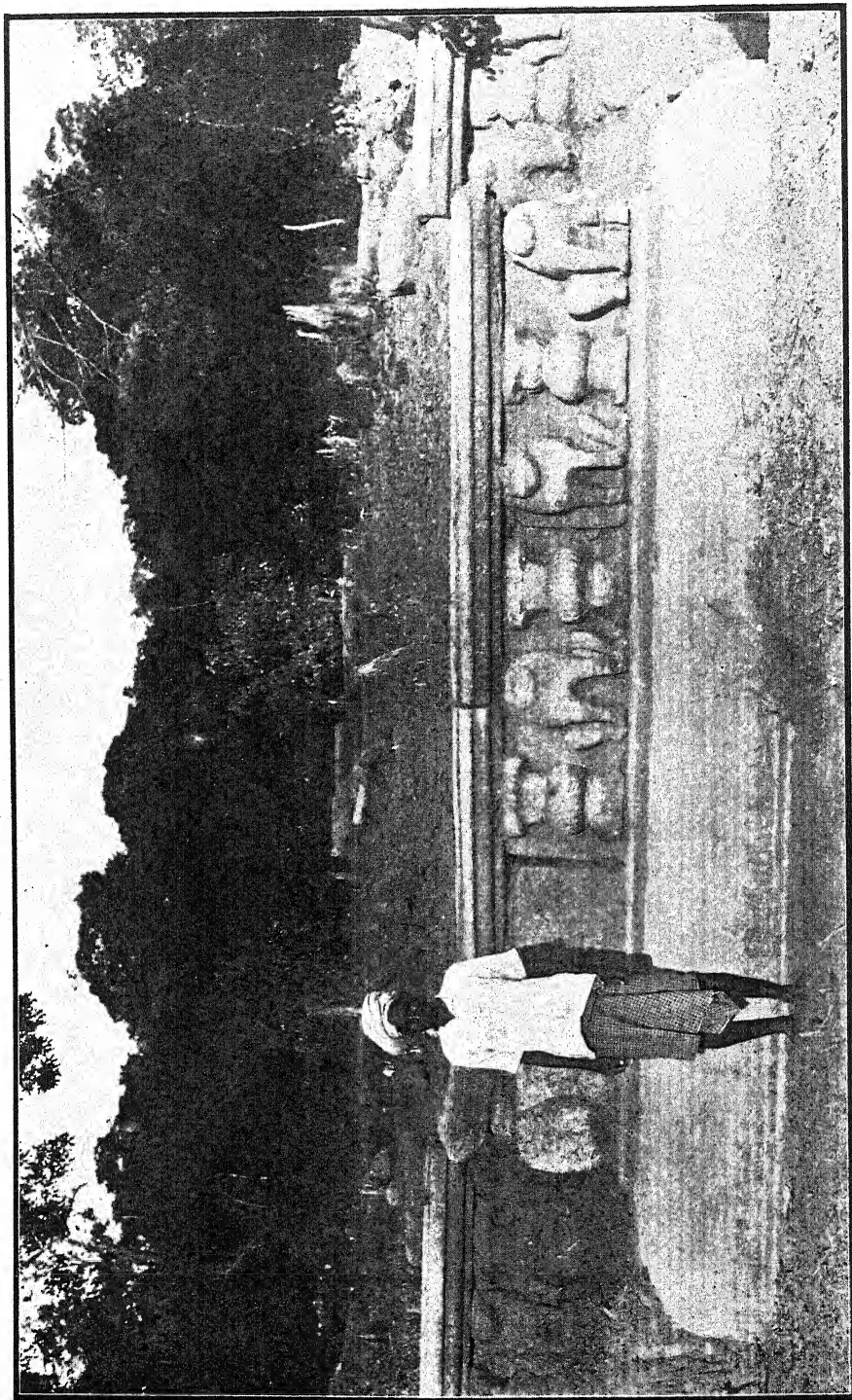
MOULDINGS OF TOPE PLATFORM

BUILDING "B"

SCALE:- $\frac{3}{4}$ INCH TO A FOOT.



Stūpa at Rūmahavehara, view from west



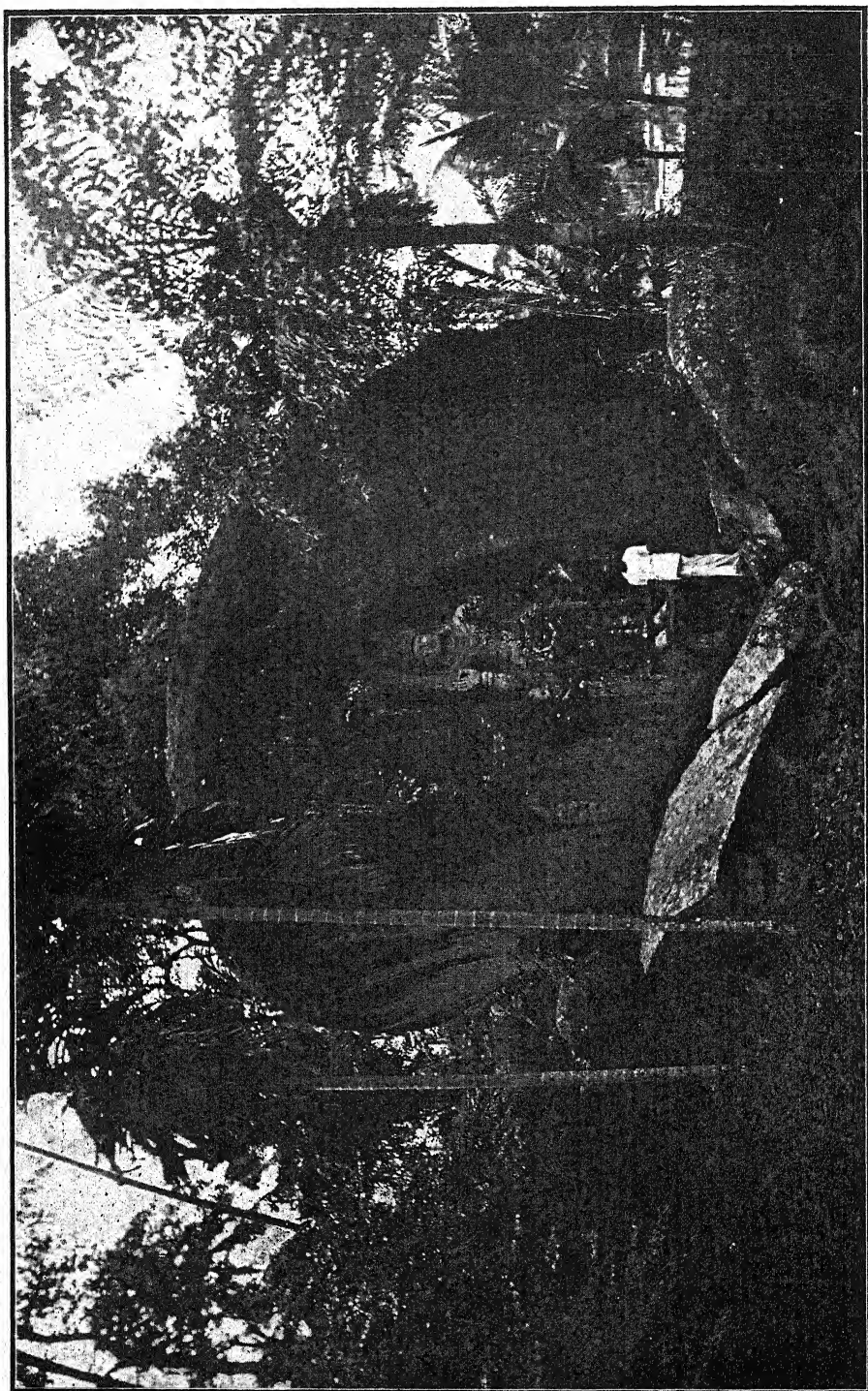
Rūṇumāhavehera, Building C



A. Balustrade between Rocks B and C at Vessagiriya



B. Unfinished Sculpture at Andiyagala



Kuṣṭarajāgala at Vāligama



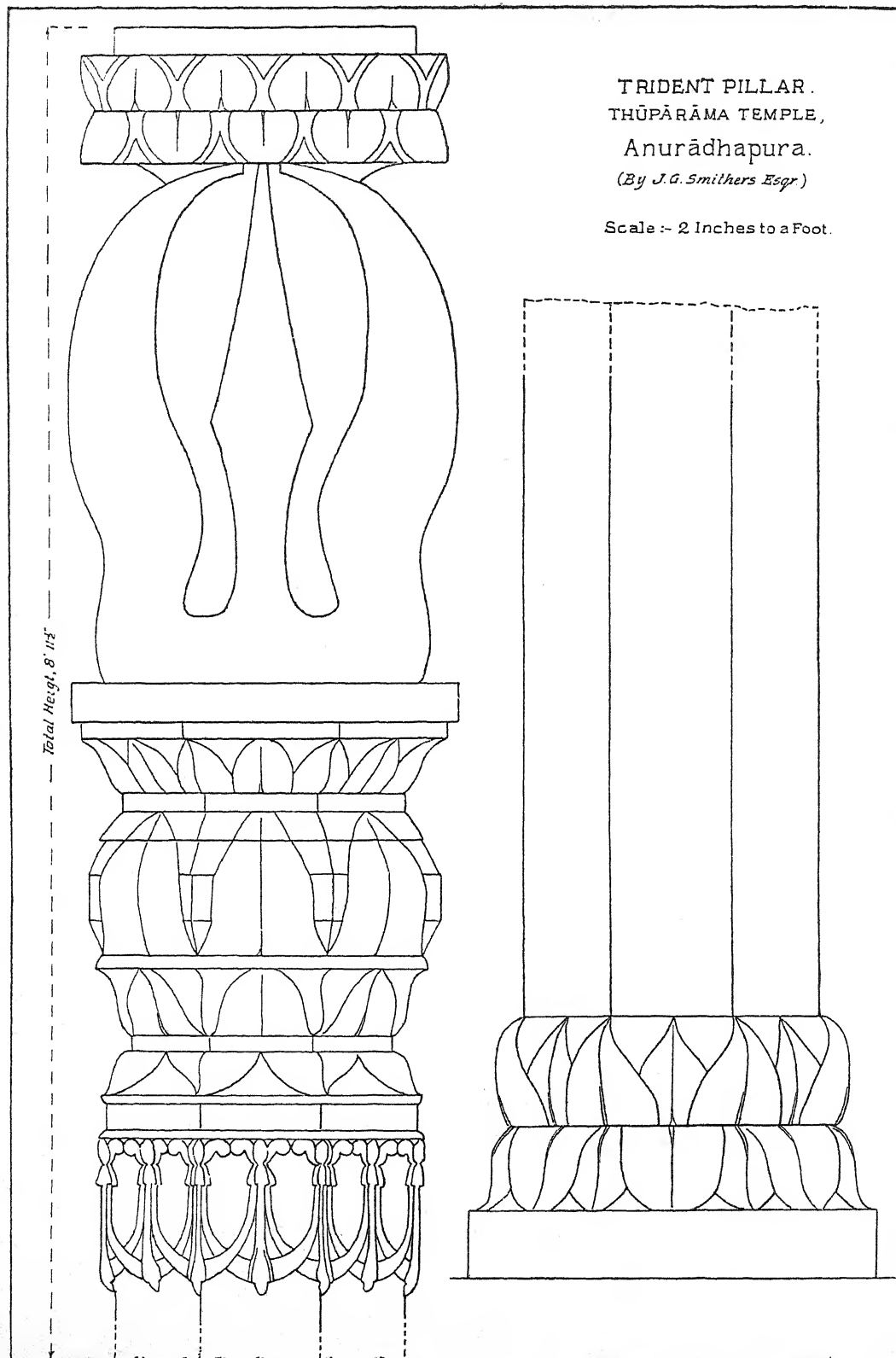
Kuṣṭarajāgala at Vāligama

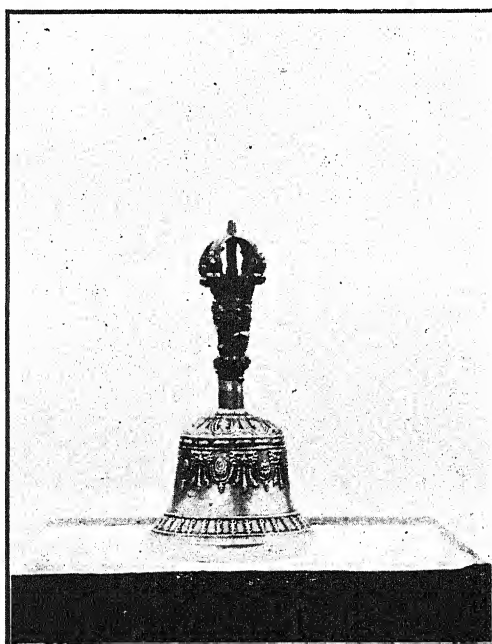
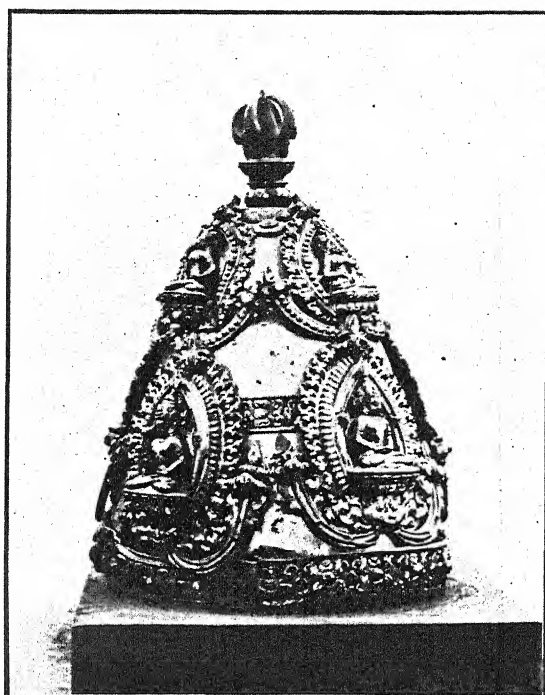


Sculptured Slab found at Girihañḍuvihāra, at Ambalantōṭa



Statue at Kurukkalmadam

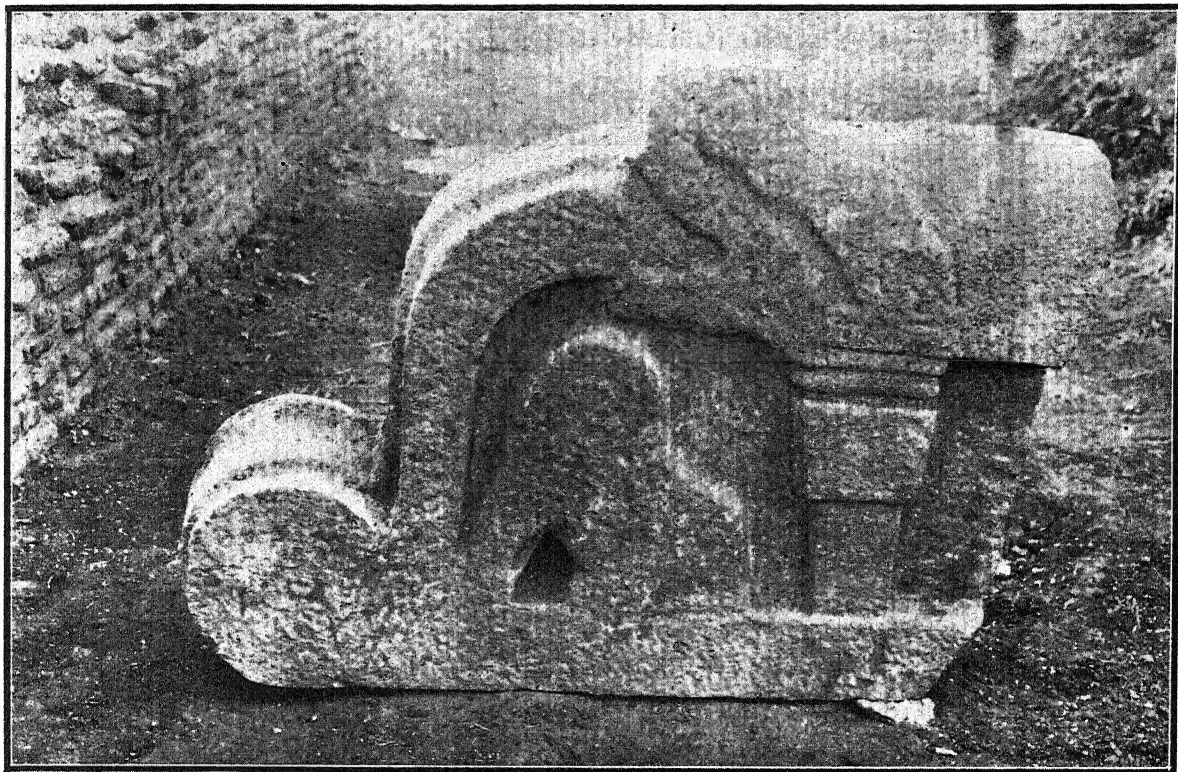




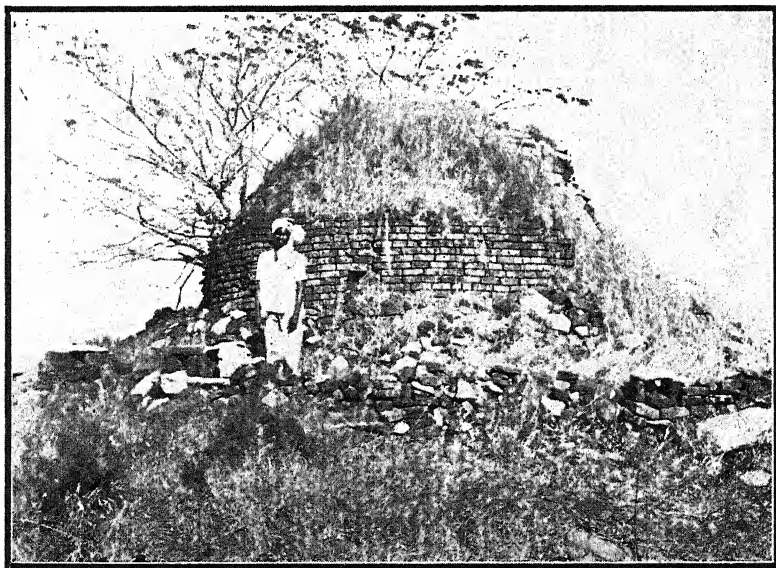
Vajra helmets from Nepāl.



Moonstones from Horana



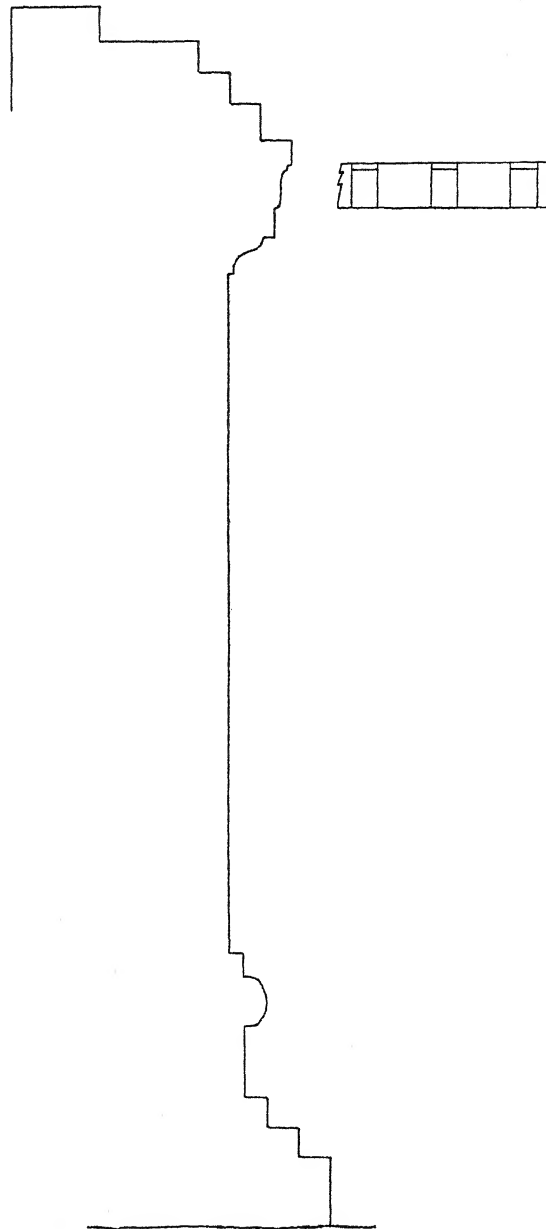
A. Unfinished Balustrade at "the Priory," Polonnaruwa



B. Stūpa at Kuḍumbigala

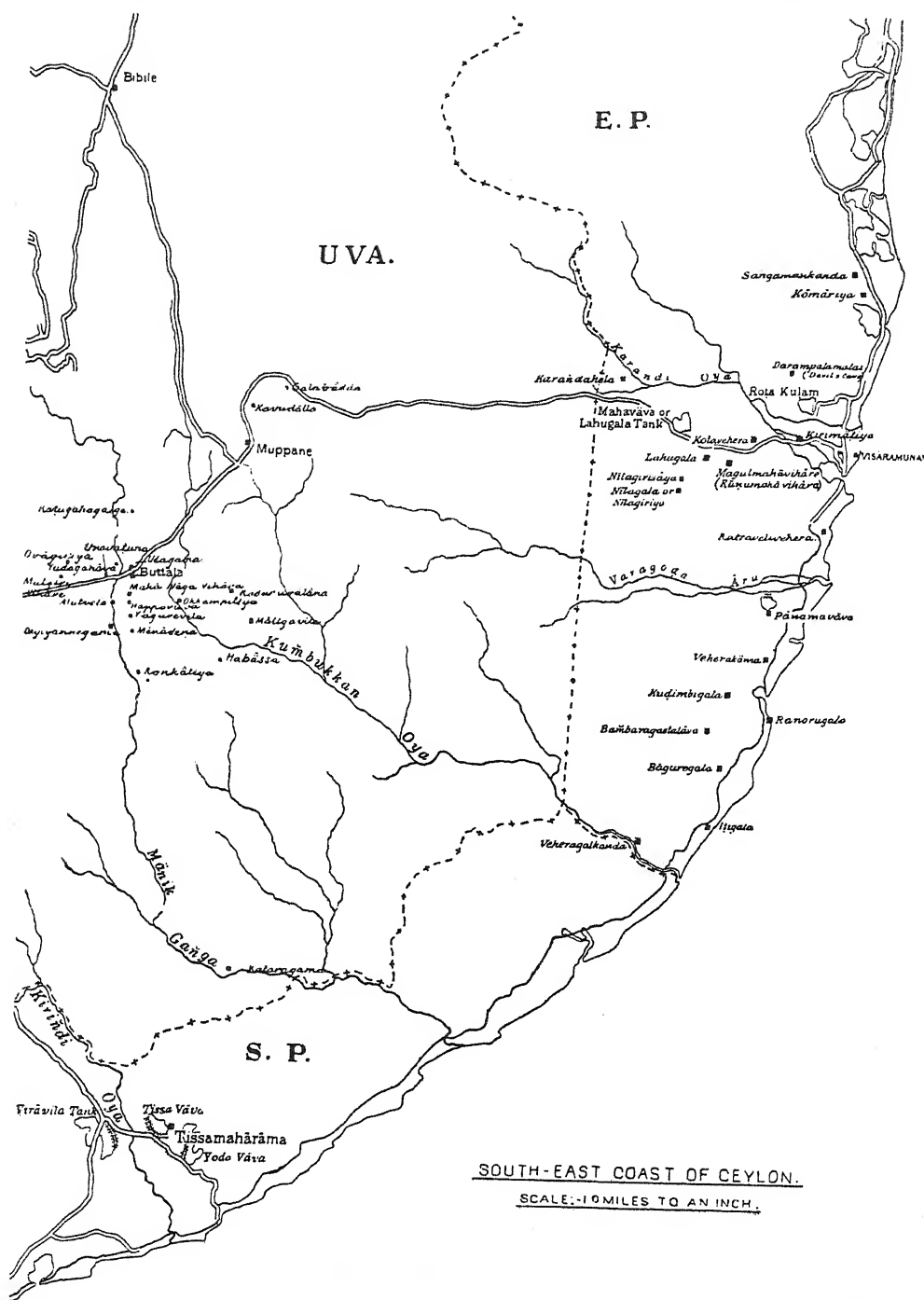
RATRAVELIVÉHERA.

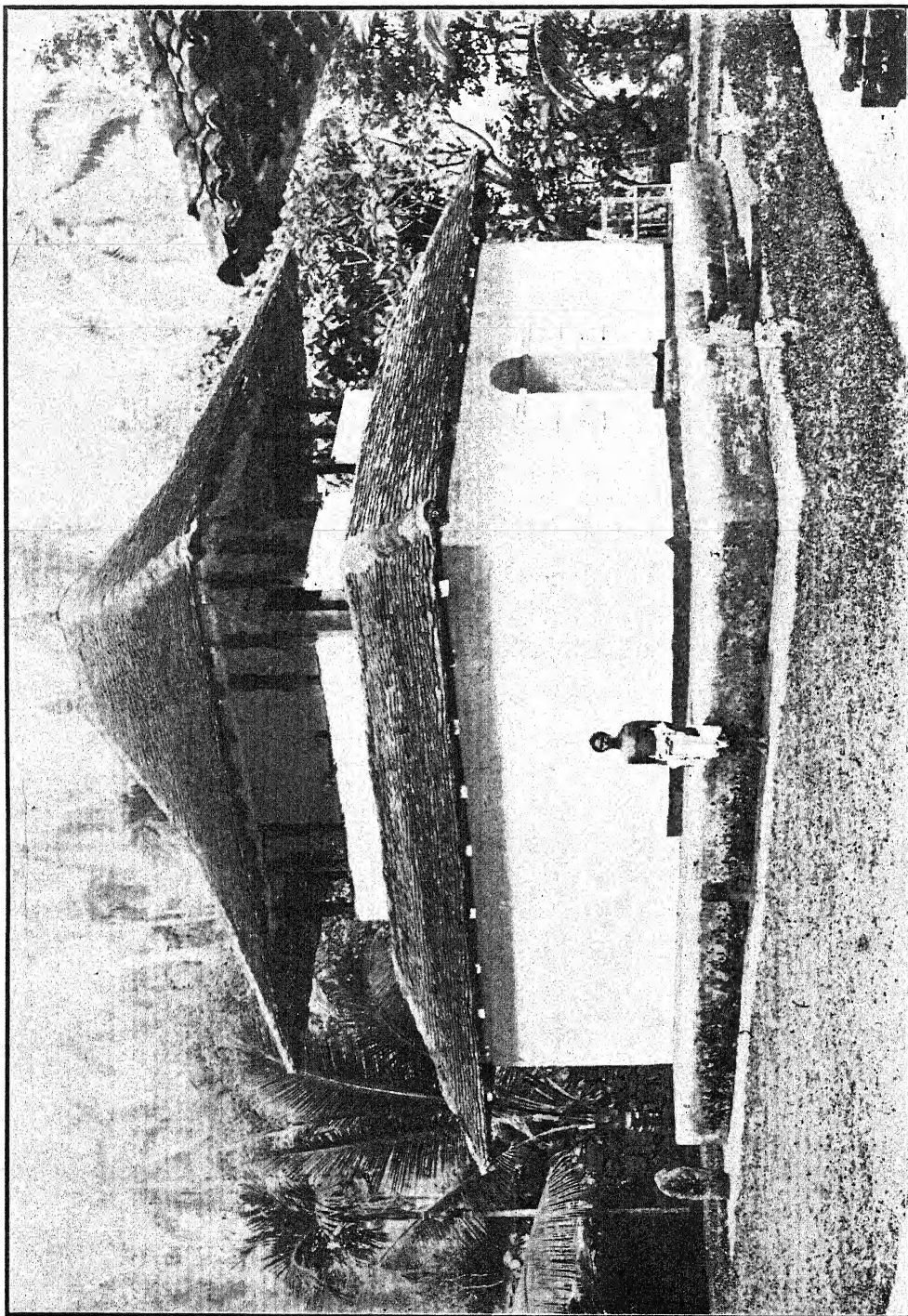
RĀGAMVELI.



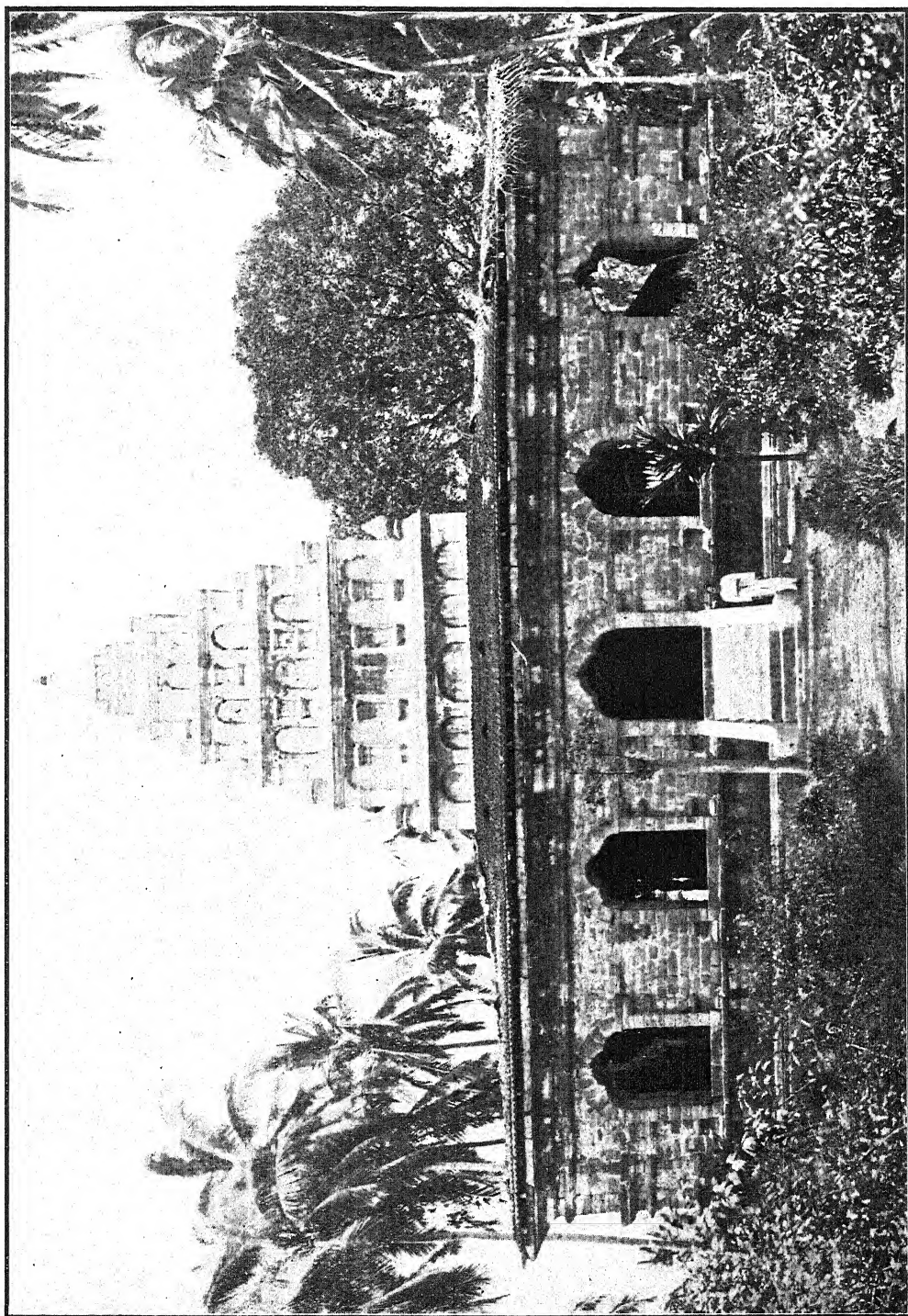
MOULDINGS OF CAVE TEMPLE WALL.

SCALE:— ¼ INCH TO A FOOT

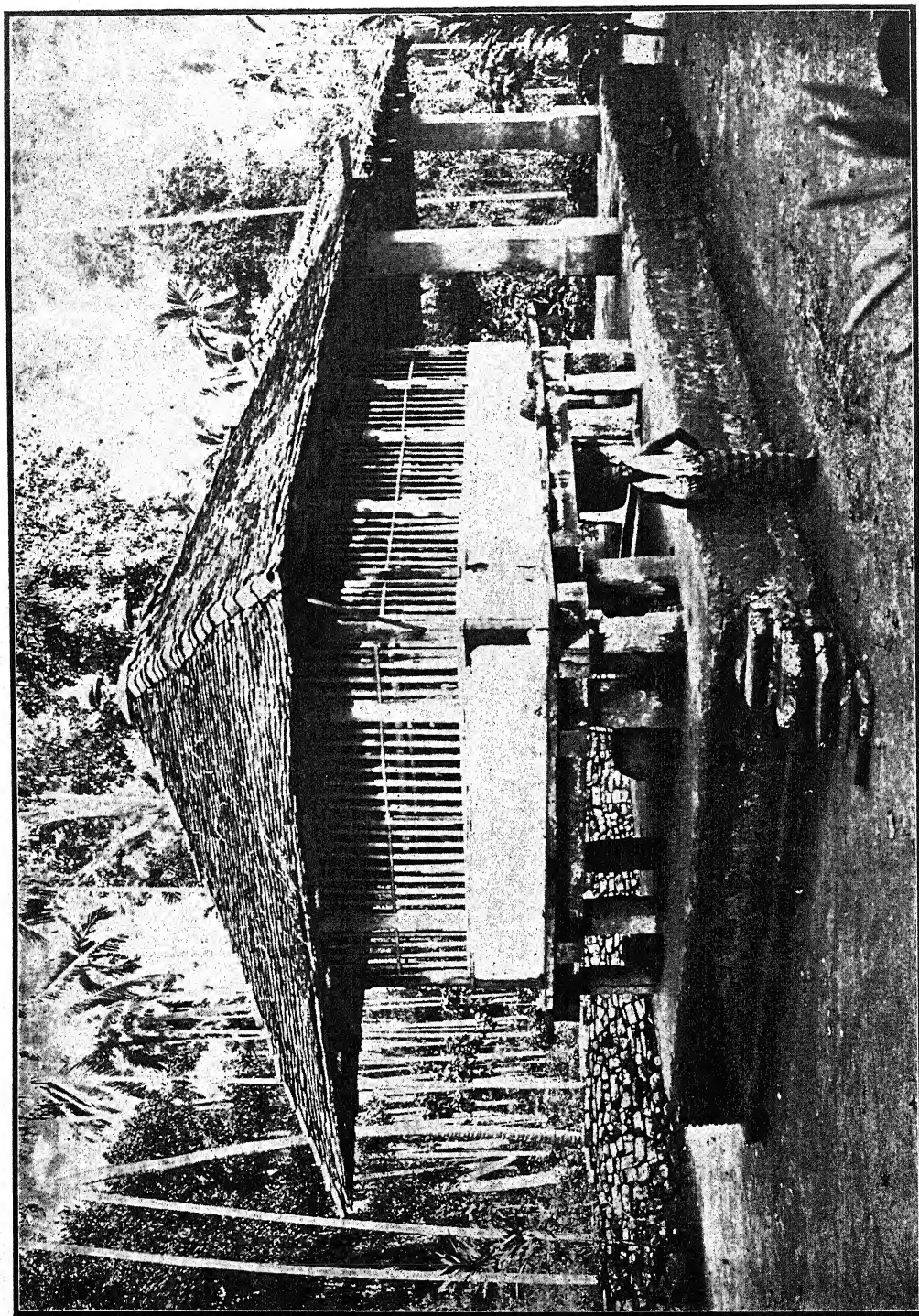




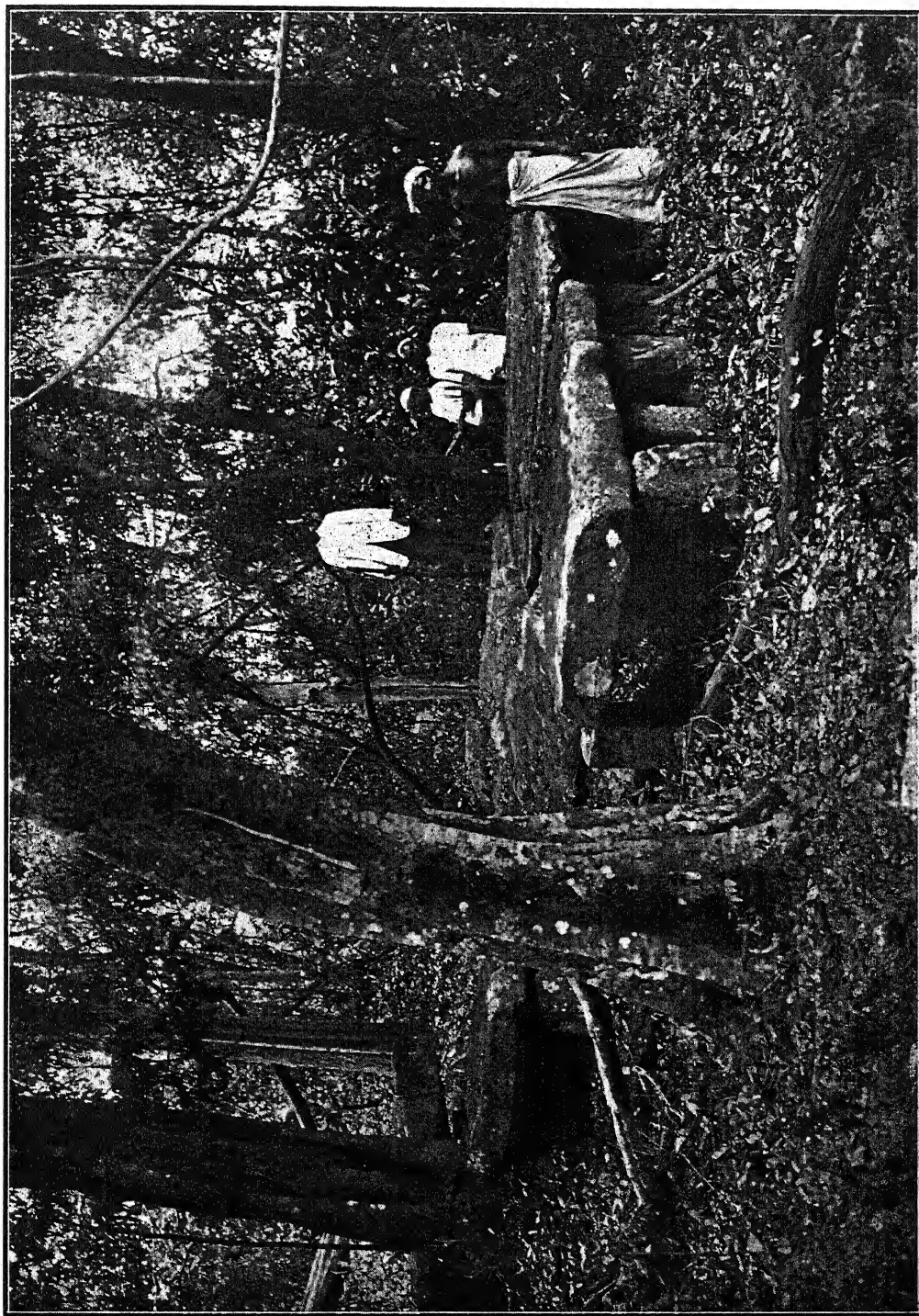
Diyasunnata Temple near Rambukkana,



Galmadruva Temple, view from west

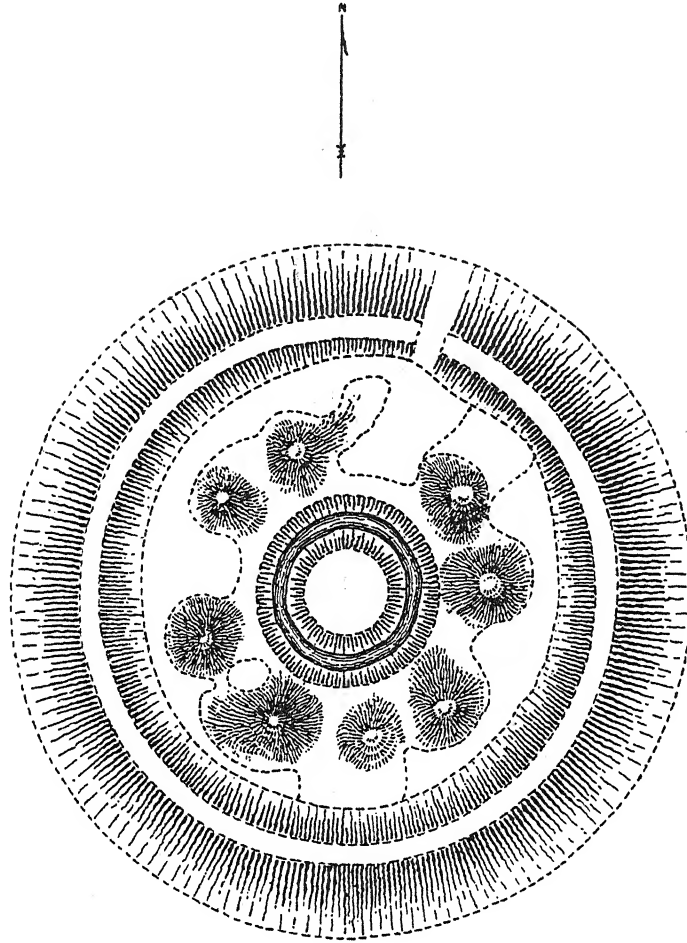


Sri Sudharmārāya at Pinnavala near Rambukkana

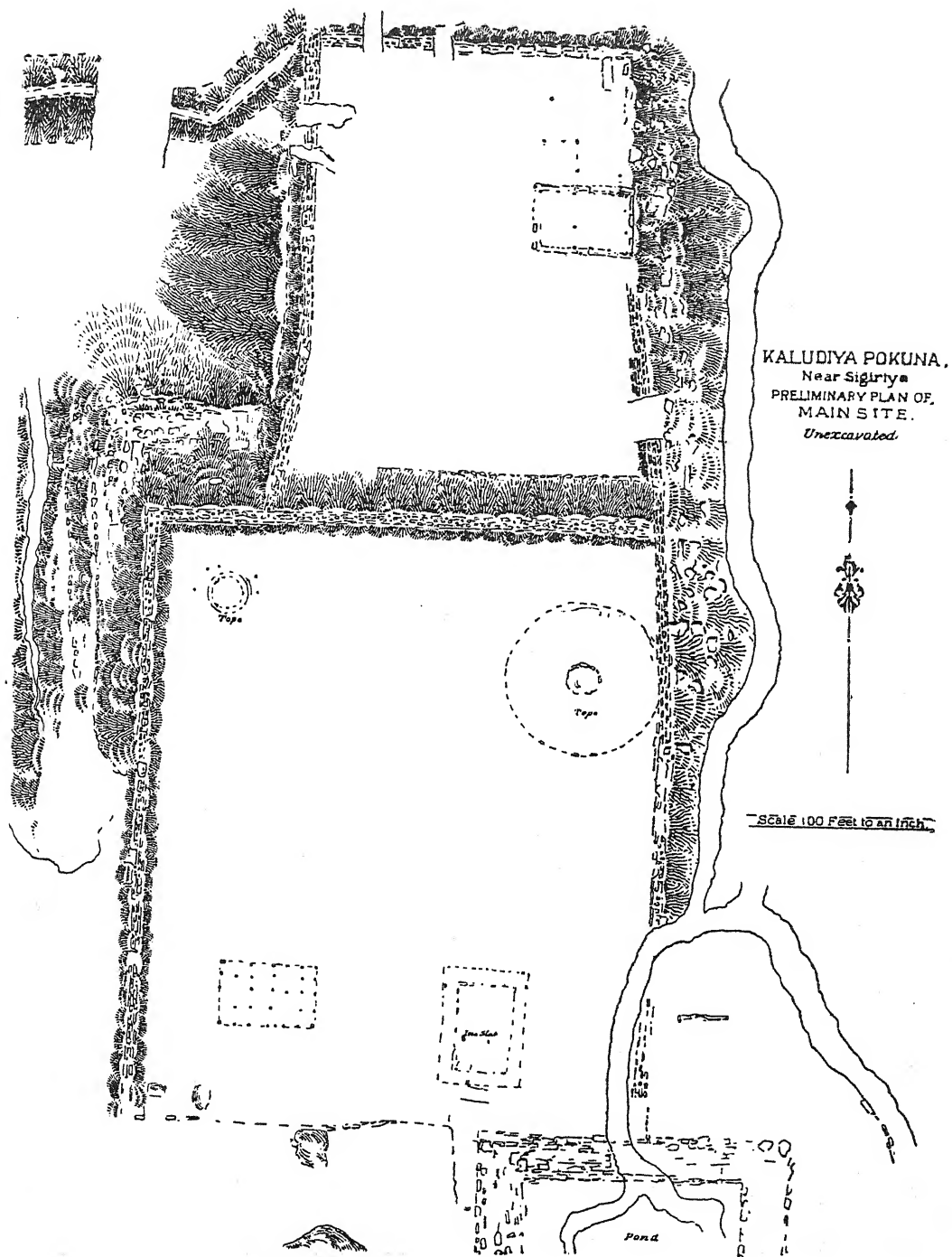


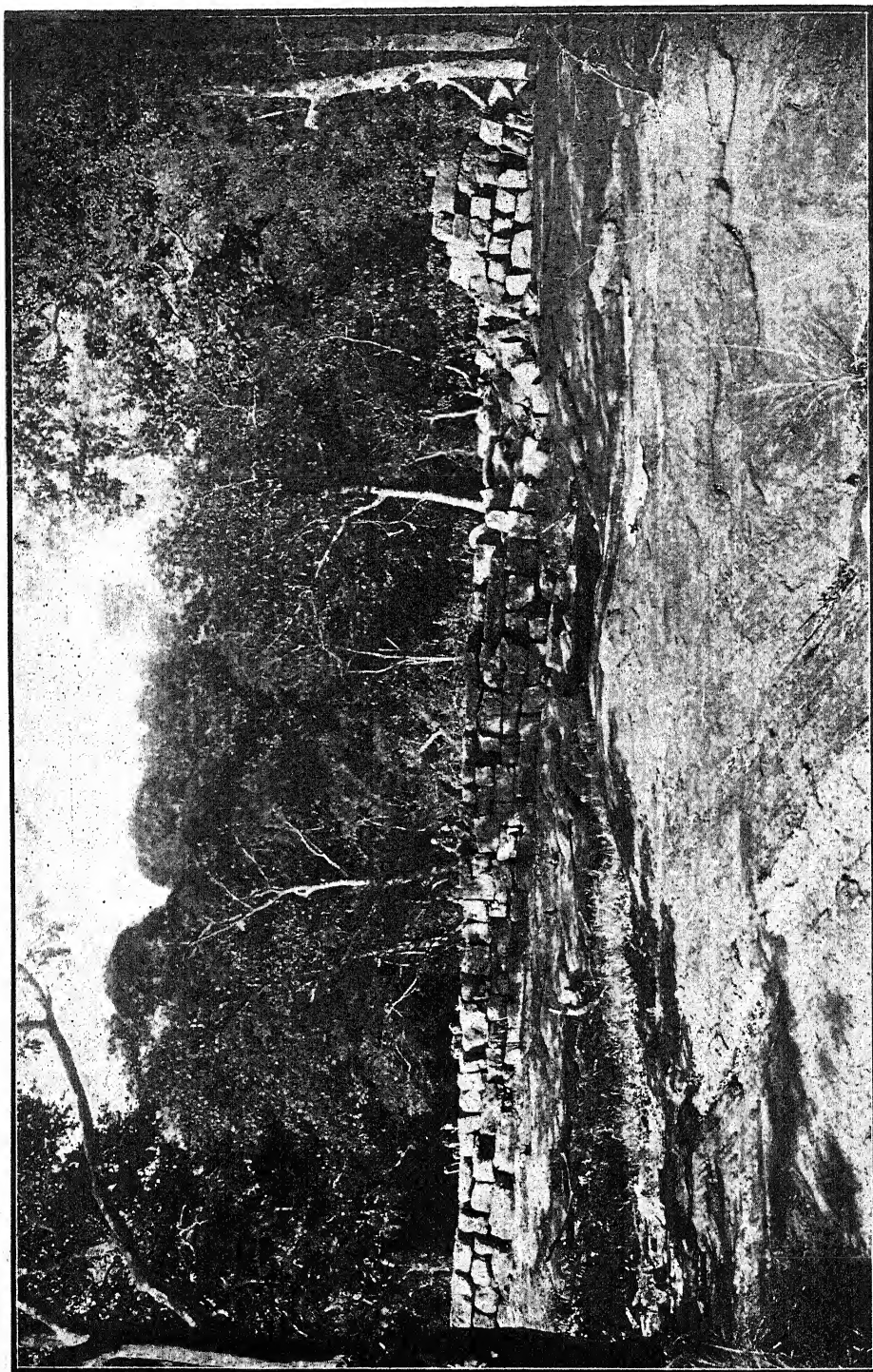
Building on piles, Arankale

CIRCULAR SITE AT
Nuvarakāle, N.W.P.
(*Preliminary Plan; unexcavated*)



Scale:- 2 Chains to an Inch

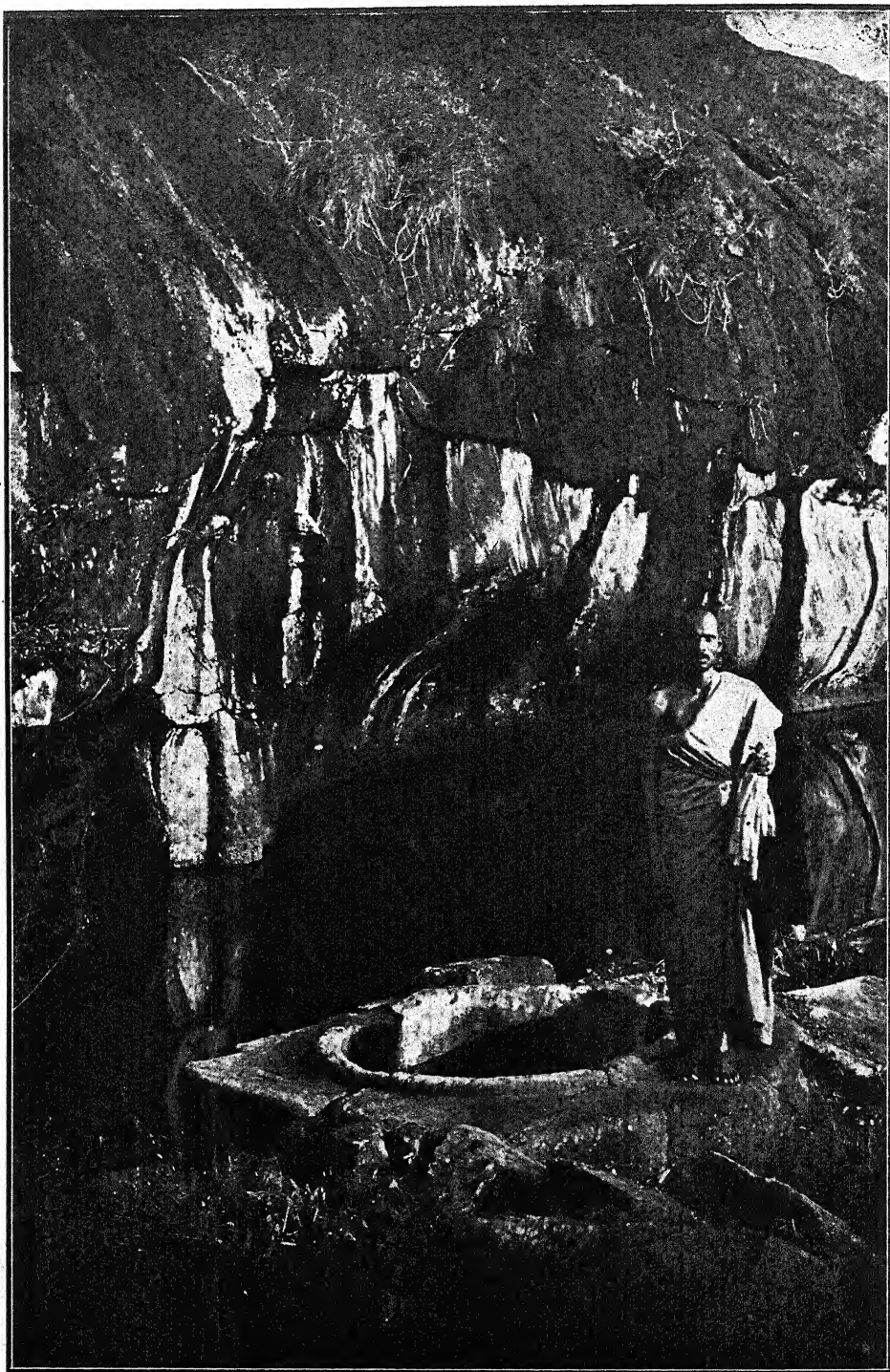




Kalāru Aneut, near Sinnaceñakulam



Erurvāva, Stone Sluice

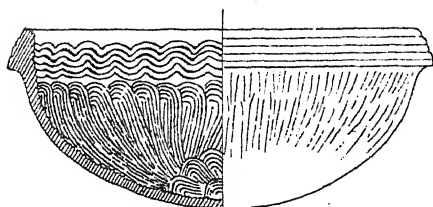


Cobra figure at Mihintale
($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to right of the arrow)

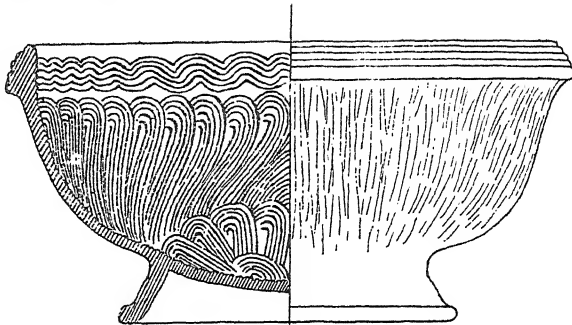


Cobra figure at Vannamaquva

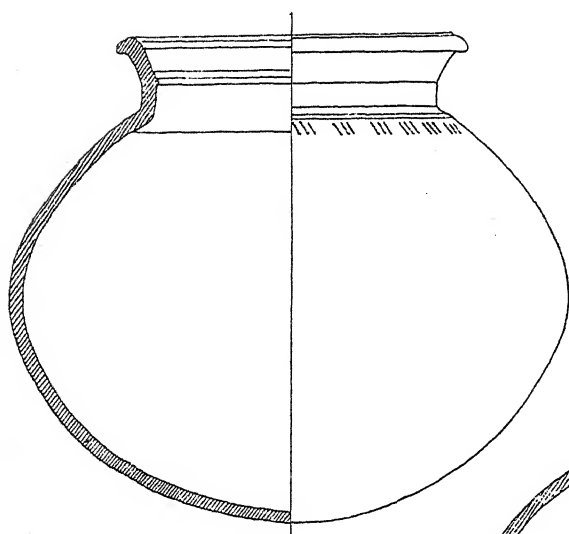
SET OF COOKING POTS
From
Kālaniya.



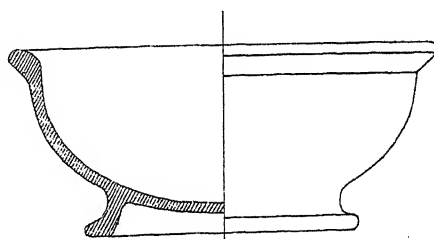
NĀMBILIYA.



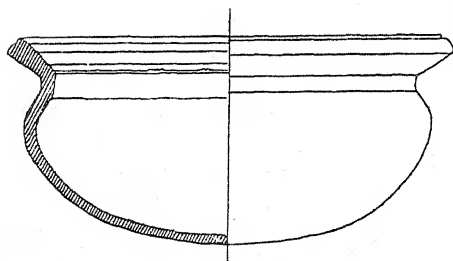
KORAHA.



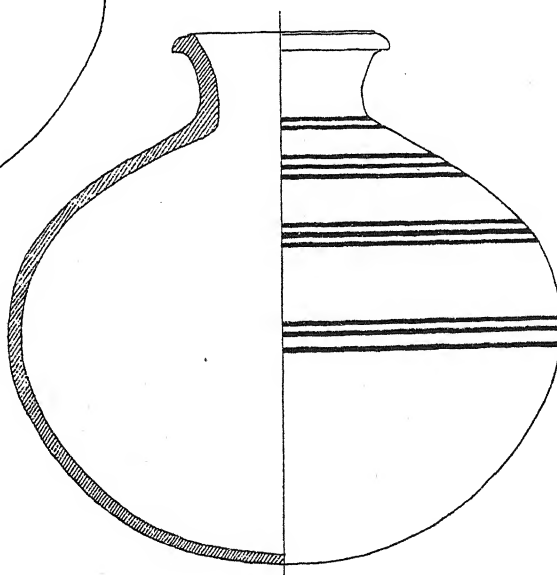
MUTṬIYA



BATVALAṆḌA

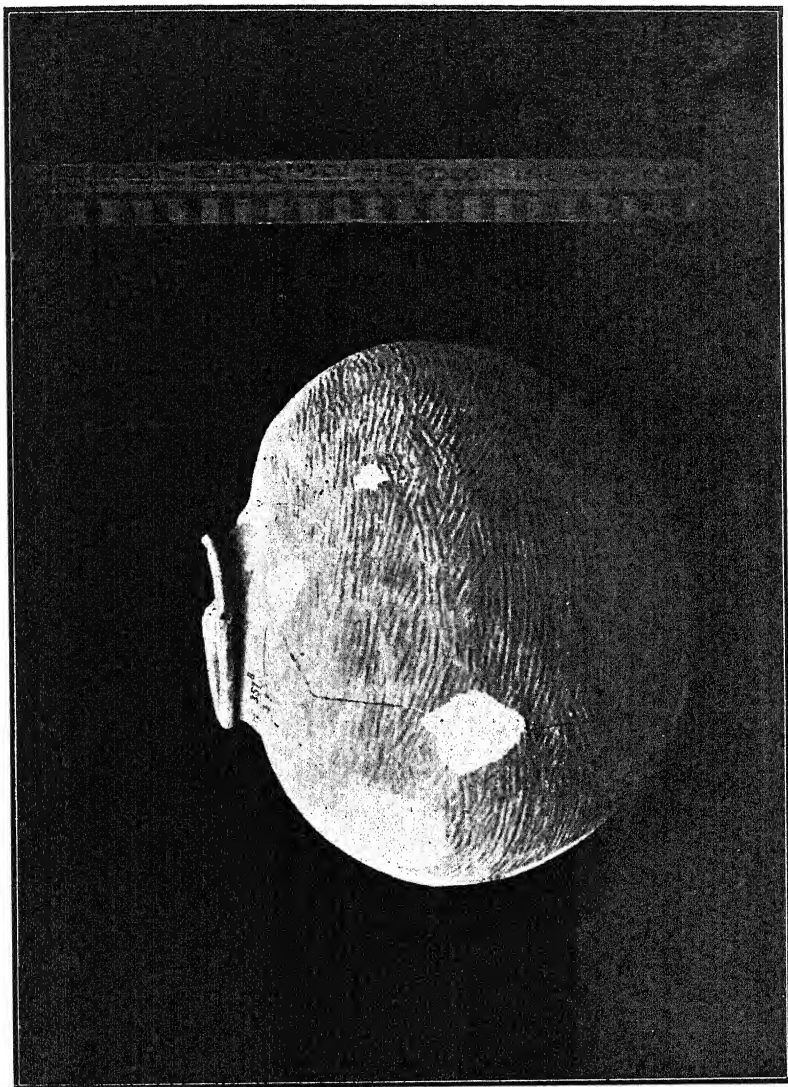


ĀTILIYA



KĀLAGĒḌIYA.

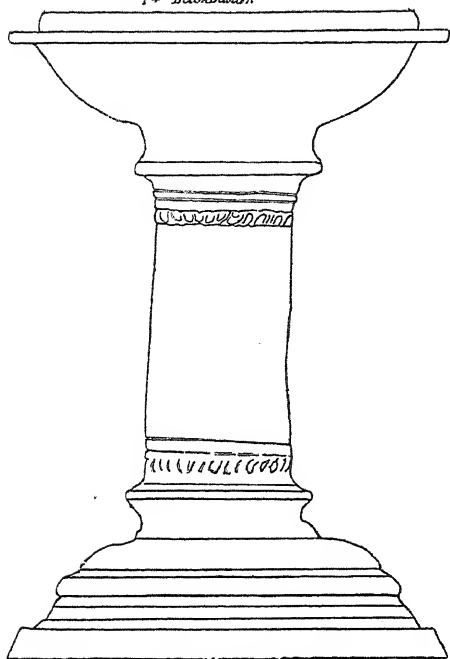
Scale :- 4 Size.



Pot with mallet grooves from Mantai, 3 ft. 4 in. below datum

Tirukkesvaram 279A

$\frac{336^8}{7^4}$ Below Datum



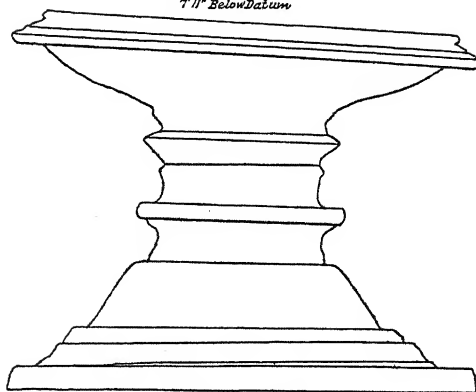
Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

LAMP STANDS.

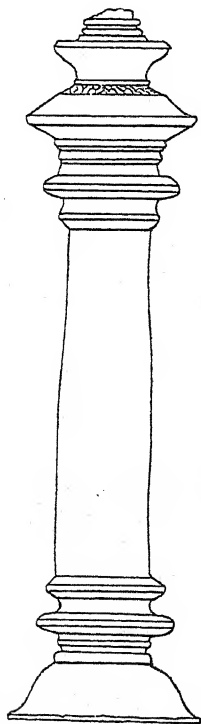
Pārkāṇḍu

Tirukkesvaram 279B

$\frac{336^8}{7^4}$ Below Datum



Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

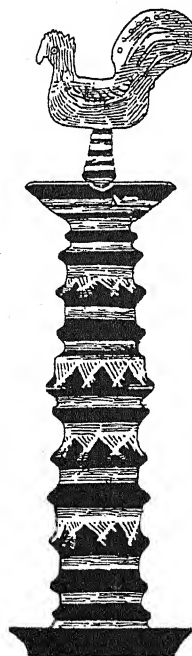


Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ size.
Origin unknown.

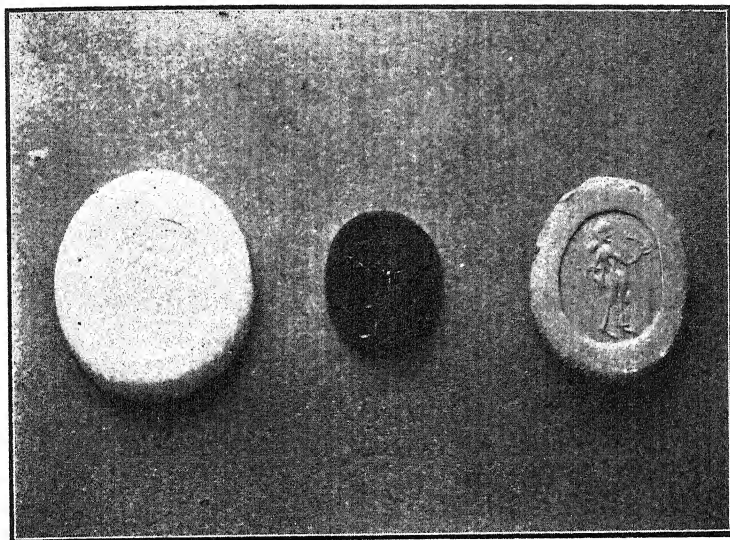


Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

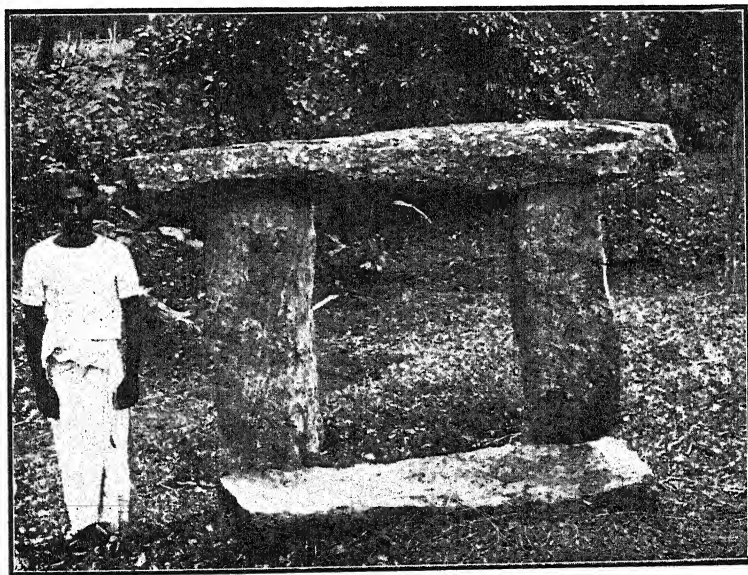
Modern from Pālūgama.



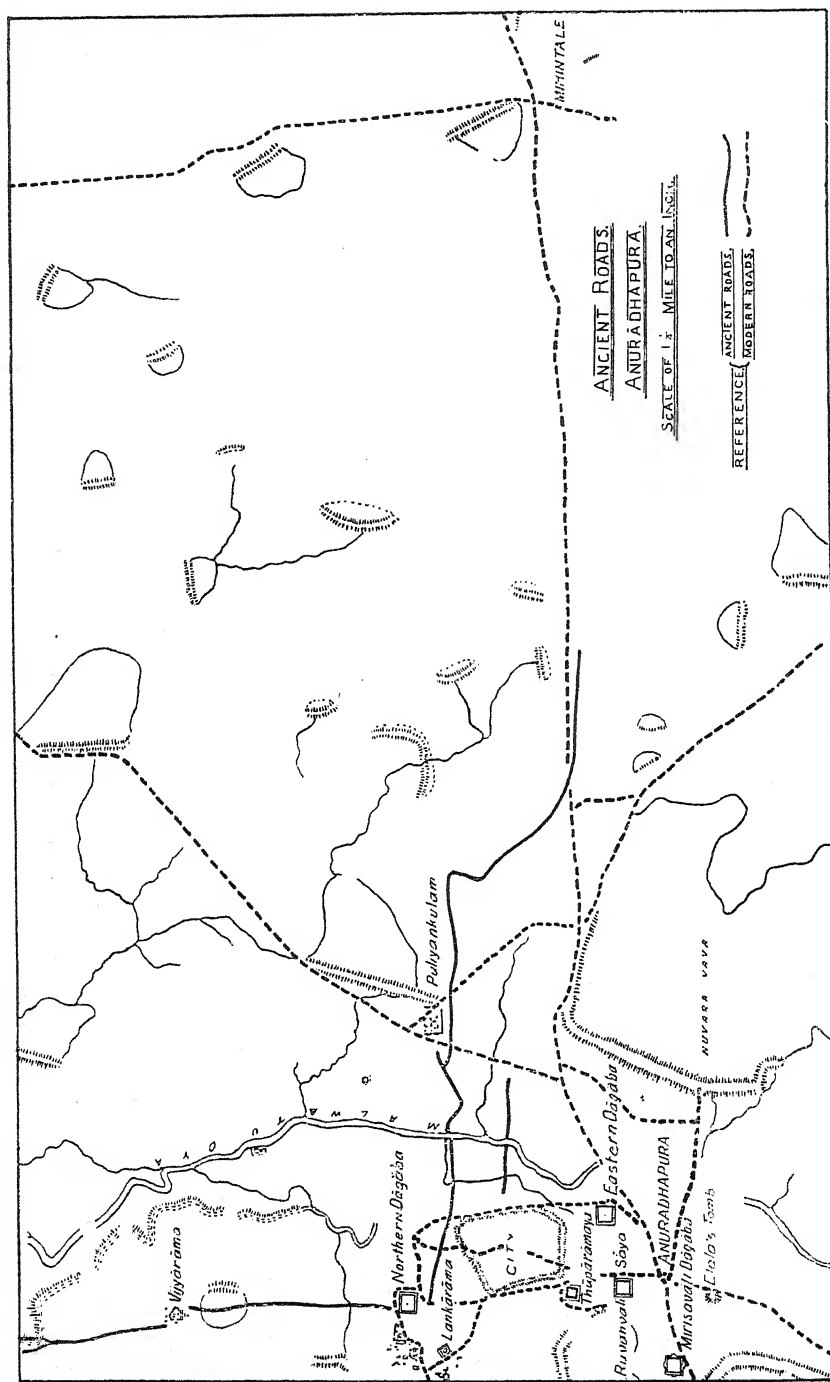
Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ size.



A. Cornelian Seal and Impressions



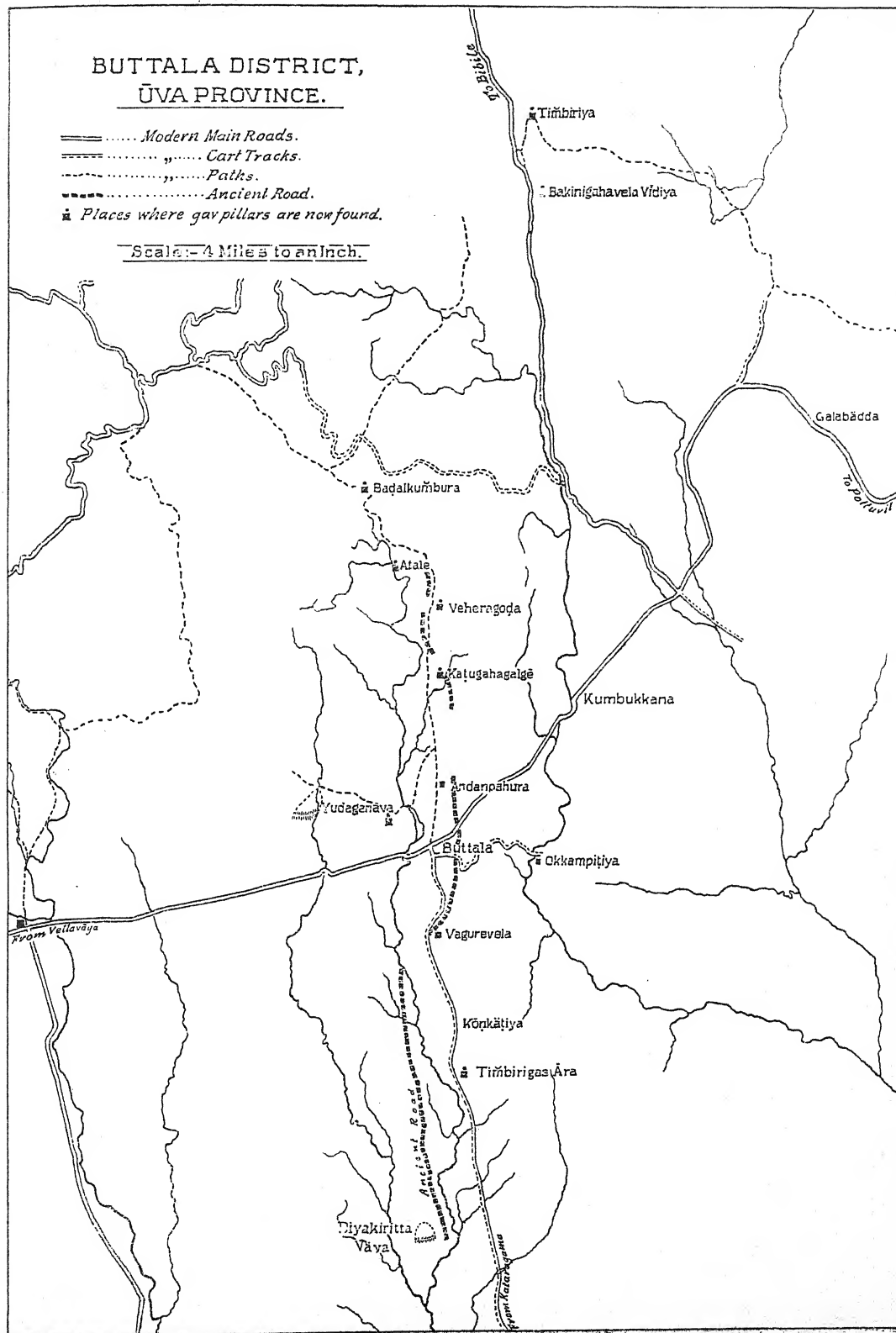
B. Modern Trilithon near Habarana

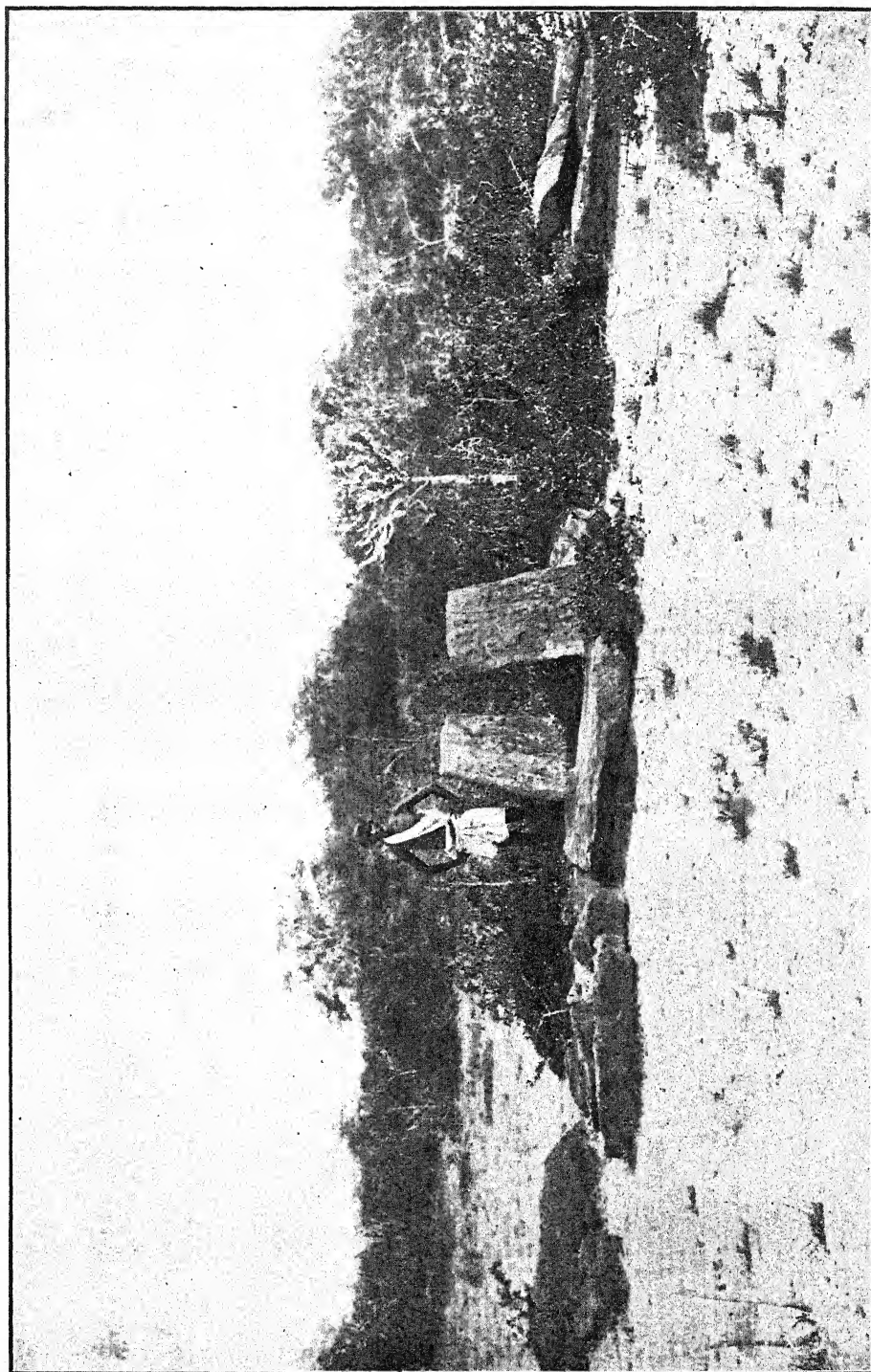


BUTTALA DISTRICT, ŪVA PROVINCE.

- ===== Modern Main Roads.
 ----- Cart Tracks.
 Paths.
 - - - - - Ancient Road.
 ■ Places where gavpillars are now found.

Scale:—4 Miles to an Inch.

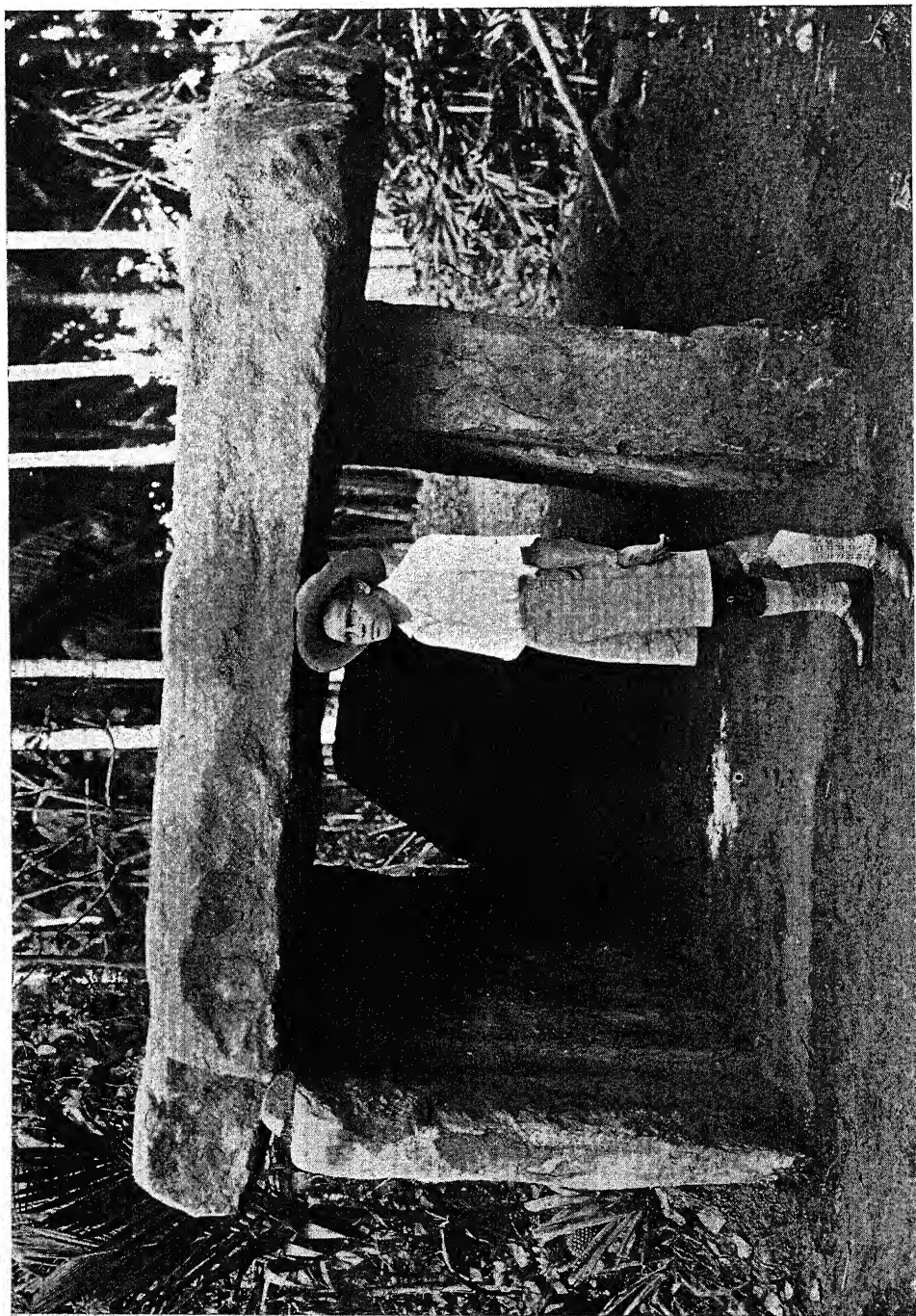




Cists near Katiraveli



Guardstone at the Abhayagiri (northern) Cetiya, Anurādhapura



Dolmen at Padiyagampola, view from east



Dolmen at Padiyagampola, view from south-east